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THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

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THE

LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

110910

BY THE

REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, PREBENDARY OF YORK, AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON, COUNTY OF YORK.

"CRANMER'S MARTYRDOM IS HIS MONUMENT, AND HIS NAME WILL OUTLAST AN EPITAPH OR A SHRINE."—*Strype.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,

AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1831.

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PREFACE.

THE fall of Cranmer will never be forgotten as one of the great lessons of human weakness; his final triumph, as one of the noblest efforts of human resolution. Of calumny and rancour he has shared largely. His merits have often been suppressed, while his failings have been exaggerated; and defamation, instead of argument, has been sometimes chosen as the easiest way to influence the minds of men against him. "[1] His fate has been peculiarly hard. Living in evil days, and exposed after his death to the malice of evil tongues, he has suffered in almost every part of his reputation. Papists have impeached the sincerity, while Protestants have doubted the steadiness, of his principles; and a too general idea seems to pre-

[1] Abp. Lawrence's Serm. Bampton Lect Oxf. 1805, p. 22.

vail that his opinions were for ever fluctuating, or at least were so flexible, as to have rendered him little better than a weak instrument in the hands of those who possessed more talent and more consistency. But the fact was far otherwise. He was in truth the chief promoter and the ablest advocate of the Reformation, planning it with the direction of a prudent and the zeal of a good man, and carrying it on towards perfection with a firmness, a wisdom, and a liberality, which obtained him no less credit for the endowments of his head than for the impressions of his heart."

It may, therefore, serve as a defence of him both against the undervaluer and the slanderer of his memory, to retrace, what indeed has been often told, his eventful history. Having carefully examined not only the narratives of elder days, but several [1] original letters, and other authentic documents, not to be found in those narratives, I have ventured upon the task. With much of

[1] In the State-Paper Office, in the Chapter-House at Westminster, in the Lambeth Library, the Public Library at Cambridge, and the British Museum; and I am truly grateful for the kind permission to copy them to those who are the keepers and guardians of these invaluable manuscripts.

what his former biographers have related, what the pages of Foxe, and archbishop Parker, and Burnet, and more especially the indefatigable Strype, have supplied, I have also interwoven notices of him, dispersed in later publications. I offer to the reader therefore not entirely the repetition of a beaten story; and for new particulars I have not failed to state the authorities. Some of the archbishop's writings, and many of his letters, I have given entire, where the subject seemed to warrant such insertion, rather than partial extracts from them; for "[1] those relations are commonly of most value, in which the writer tells his own story."

Thus I presume to claim for the archbishop a fair hearing. To many indeed, who have only listened with eager ear to such as charge him with almost every failing, how little perhaps is known of the many virtues he possessed, of the zeal he exerted in rescuing his country from the oppressive yoke of a foreign power, of the good taste with which he encouraged learning, of the good sense with which he inculcated religion! How often without examination have been re-

[1] Johnson.

ceived the falsehood, and the invective, which are found in the work that has been made the standard authority for writers adverse to the opinions and the faith of Cranmer, I mean the history of the English Schism by Sanders, and which have been forced in various ways upon public notice, from the latter part of the sixteenth century to this our day! The Italian priest Pollini soon translated it into the language of his country; and the ecclesiastic Rossotto afterwards, in his memoirs of court-favourites, borrowed from it occasional abuse of the martyr. The French writers, Florimond de Remond, Varillas, Le Grand, and Bossuet, have collected from it various untruths, sometimes adding to them an acrimony exceeding that of the original slanderer, whose countrymen the cardinal Allen, Champneys doctor of the Sorbonne, the jesuit Persons, Phillips the canon of Tongres, and the learned prelate Milner, have also done. If the courtesy of modern controversy, and the dignity of national history, have at all softened the severer tones of elder days, still there are statements in recent publications, both historical and polemical, which it has been a duty carefully, in these volumes, to examine

and to refute. There have been also, in modern accounts of the archbishop, some mistakes in order to exalt (as in other works to depreciate) his character: such I have endeavoured to rectify. I pretend, however, to no higher character in the present work than that of a compiler. My obligations to the sentiments and the language of those, who have trod the same ground before me, I therefore readily acknowledge; while by the condensation of preceding materials, and the introduction of several hitherto unknown, into a reasonable compass, I trust that I may not be pronounced an unfaithful or useless recorder of the principal actions and opinions of the great father of the English Reformation. The ancient spelling, which would be a partial prohibition, rather than a general invitation, to the perusal of the many curious papers that are copied, I have not retained. But it is the form only of words, in no respect their sense, which I have altered.

Of the family of the archbishop, by the favour of Mr. Beltz of the College of Heralds, I have been enabled to give a pedigree that closes his direct line in co-heiresses. Thoroton, in his history of Nottinghamshire, carries the pedigree, on

Cranmer's paternal side, as high as to the thirteenth century, when Hugh de Cranmer married Matilda, daughter of William de Fullertón in Lincolnshire, in which county the residence of the Cranmers was afterwards known by the name of Cranmer-Hall; Gilbert was their son; Hugh was the son of Gilbert; Thomas, of Hugh; and Edmund, who married Isabel Aslacton, the son of Thomas. This marriage fixed the family in Nottinghamshire, and with it I commence, as Strype has done, my memorials of the archbishop. George Cranmer, a nephew of the archbishop, appears to have been the particular friend of the celebrated Hooker, and to him to have addressed an excellent letter (not published however till many years after his death) "Concerning the New Church Discipline." Among the Latin verses subjoined to Humphry's Life of Bishop Jewell in 1573, there is a copy to the prelate's memory bearing the name of Samuel Cranmer, whether related to the archbishop or not, I am unable to state; but in the registers of Whatton, (to which Aslacton was a chapel,) which from 1541 till late in the sixteenth century record the baptisms, marriages, and burials of the Cranmers of that place, he is not mentioned. A de-

scendant of this name, however, from Richard Cranmer, the second son of John Cranmer, elder brother to the archbishop, was an alderman of London, and died in 1640. The name is now known only by tradition at Whatton, where a walk too is not yet forgotten which was called *Cranmer's walk*. The reverend Richard Cranmer, late vicar of Mitcham, asserted his alliance to the martyr. There are probably other such descendants existing. The name certainly still exists.

The armorial bearings of Cranmer's family are three cranes, alluding to the name of Cranmer, between a chevron charged with three cinquefoils. Burnet relates that king Henry, prophetically as it were, ordered the archbishop to change the cranes to pelicans; intimating, that as the latter bird is said to give her blood to feed her young, so for the good of the Church the primate was to offer his. Strype admitted into his Life of Cranmer this assertion, supposing the alteration to have been ordered about the year 1544, which afterwards he corrected, on having looked at the frontispiece of the Bible in 1539, where the pelicans indeed appear. Lewis, in his history of English Bibles, gives a copy of this curious fron-

tispiece, with a shield, on which the arms should have been engraved, blank; nor does he describe them. In the original wood-cut, which expresses no colours, they are quarterly 1. and 4. on a chevron between three pelicans vulning themselves, as many cinquefoils; 2. six lioncels 3. 2. 1. rampant; 3. five fusils in fess, each charged with an escallop. A crescent for difference. The second quarter is the coat of Leyborne in Yorkshire; the third, that of Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, which also is placed on one side of the tomb of the archbishop's father at Whatton, and on the other the cranes and the chevron. On the tomb-stone of the archbishop's nephew Thomas, in the church of St. Mildred at Canterbury, the three pelicans vulning themselves are the arms; and in the College of Heralds a pedigree, as my friend the Richmond herald has informed me, commencing with this nephew, presents the same coat. Edmonson accordingly describes this bearing as *Cranmer's of Kent.* Archbishop Sancroft, however, who about the close of the seventeenth century, caused the arms of his predecessors in the see of Canterbury to be painted on glass, now in the new library at Lambeth Palace,

chose to give Cranmer the original family arms, and to place under them the date of 1543. It is remarkable too that on the ring which the archbishop wears in the painting, of which the engraving accompanies this volume, the three cranes are the arms; and at that time he is represented as being in his fifty-seventh year, which therefore was in 1546.

Of this beautiful painting a word or two more must be said. The fine engraving of it, now presented to the public, is that which Mr. Lodge has already given in his portraits of illustrious personages, and has been obligingly supplied for this work by Mr. Harding. "The name of the artist," Mr. Lodge has justly stated, "has escaped the observation of lord Orford, Pilkington, Bryan, and others who have favoured us with notices of pictorial biography; it is inscribed *Gerbicus Flicciis faciebat*, and by a label which appears on another part of the picture, we are informed that it was painted in the fifty-seventh year of the archbishop's life." I may add, that two drawings, after paintings by *Gertardus Fliccus*, (so printed,) 1547, were in the catalogue of rare English portraits belonging to Mr. Thompson,

sold by Richardson in London, in May, 1815. By this variation of name, I am led to think that it should be written *Gerhardus Fliccus*, though it is difficult to ascertain precisely all the letters on the painting. Certainly, however, after *Flicciis*, or *Fliccus*, (whichever it be,) *Germanicus* is there added. The book in Cranmer's hand is inscribed on the leaves *Expositio Pauli*, and that on the table is *de fide et operibus;* a pictorial intimation, as it were, of the archbishop's sound doctrine, that St. Paul, whenever he treats of justification, insists especially upon good works, as absolutely necessary to final salvation; all *faith* without *charity* being nothing. The portrait of the archbishop, which is prefixed to Strype's Life of him, is now in Jesus College, Cambridge, and was once the property of William Cartwright, of Ossington, Esq. in Nottinghamshire, (the descendant of him who married Cranmer's sister,) who gave an engraving of it to Thoroton for his history of Nottinghamshire; and is said to have been painted by Holbein. Fuller, in his Church-History, speaks of another portrait of him, which he believes to have been painted by the same great master, and which he had seen at Cheshunt in the

house of Sir Thomas Dacres. There is another portrait of the archbishop in the Picture Gallery at Oxford; another at Emanuel College, Cambridge; another in Lambeth Palace; and another in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Barret, prebendary of St. Paul's. The plates of him in Verheiden's Imagines, in Gerdes's Memorials of the Reformation, in the Heroologia, and in Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, bear no resemblance to the genuine portraits of him. The engraving, prefixed to the second of these volumes, is of a medallion which Henry Howard, Esq. of Corby Castle, in Cumberland, met with at Rome; was given by him to the present archbishop of York; and by the archbishop has been placed among the many valuable curiosities belonging to the Philosophical Society at York, by whose kindness I have been permitted thus to gratify the reader with the sight of it. When, or upon what occasion, the medallion was struck, I am unable to tell.

It remains that I should copy what Strype has suggested in regard to the archbishop's writings, because of the gratifying addition which I am enabled to make. "If somebody of leisure, and *that had the opportunity of libraries, would take pains to*

collect together all his writings, and publish them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of this Church [of England,] and serving also much to illustrate the history of its Reformation."—From the Clarendon press at Oxford all these writings will soon issue, a completion admirably becoming a great Protestant University, and justly due to the imperishable memory of Cranmer.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 110. note, for i. 283. read vi. 283.
129. note, for 321 read 221.
136. note, for 1709 read 1739.
138. note, for *Six Acts* read *Six Articles*
160. for *of the most noble* read *for the most noble*
194. after the year 1537 add, *first, about the month of October.* See Dr. Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. ii. 317, n.
254. read *pontiff*,

Page 279. for *Higness* read *Highness*
309. for *Robinson* read *Robertson*
323. for *commessations* read *comessations*
345. for *burn* in the contents of the chapter read *burnt*
366. dele, in the contents of the chapter, *the change of Cranmer's armorial bearings*, and refer to the preface for an account of the alleged change.

BRANCHES OF THE FAMILY OF THE ARCHBISHOP,

HIS DIRECT LINE ENDING IN COHEIRESSES.

THOMAS CRANMER, of Aslacton, Co. Notts, Esq. — AGNES, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, Esq. Co. Notts.

- First Wife. Joan or Janet, dau. of John de Freshville, of Staveley, Co. Derby, which John ob. 5th Feb. 24 Hen. 7.
  - John Cranmer, of Aslacton.
  - Second Wife. Margaret, dau. of John Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough.
    - First Wife. Cicely or Cecily, dau. of —— Quadring.
      - Thomas Cranmer of Aslacton, Esq.
        - First Wife. Alice, dau. of John Lacy, of Chesh. Bo[rn]ing, bur. at Wroxton, 20th Aug. 1558.
          - Thomas Cranmer, ob. S. P. bur. at Bodicote, 20th Aug. 1600.
          - Mary, dau. (1578) and at length coheir. Married John Rusell—she living 1616. — Issue.
        - Second Wife. Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Hutchinson, relict of Richard Buckley, of Grymsdon. Executrix 1578. Will dated 17th Sept. proved at York, 11th Oct. 1600.
          - Alice, dau. and at length coheir. Married Thomas Molineux, 3dly, Sir John Thorold. — Issue.
      - Second Wife. Elizabeth, dau. of —— Morton.
        - John, bapt. at —— 20th Sept. 1558.
        - Thomas Cranmer, Esq. 1583, bapt. at Wroxton, Co. [illegible] 14th June, 1584.
    - Richd. Cranmer of Aslacton, Notts. Gent. dated 10th Jan. 11th Feb. 1583. York. Buried Wroxton, 31st [illegible] 1583.
  - Edmund Cranmer, bapt. at Wroxton, 1545, living 1578 and 1616.
  - Margaret, Wife of [illegible] 1616.
- Dorothy, Wife of Harold Rosell, Esq. of Radcliffe on Trent.
- Anne, Wife of Edmd. Cartwright, Esq.
- Jane, Wife of John Mowse, Lieut. of Dover Castle.
- Isabel, Wife of Sir — Sharpey, Knt.
- First Wife. Joan, dau. of ——
- THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury. Born at Aslacton, 2d July, 1489, admitted into Jesus Coll. Camb. 1503, D.D. 1526, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury 30th Mar. 1533. Exam. to the Will of Henry VIII, 1546; Godfather to Edward VI, and queen Elizabeth. Attainted 13th Nov. 1553, burnt at Oxford 21st Mar. 1555-6. Anno 1563 an Act passed to restore in blood the children of the archbishop.
  - Second Wife. Anne, since of the wife of Osiander, married at Nuremberg. Survived her husband.
  - Thomas Cranmer, of Kirkstall, Co. Elor. Esq. sold Cookridge, Co. York, to Sir Thos. Cecil, son of Lord Burghley, and William Cannock, Yeoman, 35th Feb. 25 Eliz. 1582, and, by a recognizance of same date, bound himself to pay 3000l. to fulfil the condition.
  - Anne, died before the archbishop.
  - Margaret, survived the archbishop.
- Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury. Admin. granted 20th April, 1571, to Thomas Cranmer the son.
  - Thomas Cranmer of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, Gent. Ob. 1604, æt. 60, buried at St. Mildred's. Will proved 1604 at Canterbury.
    - Anne, dau. of John Carpenter, of Rye, Co. Sussex, and sister of John Carpenter, who married Anne, sister of Secretary Davison.
      - Thomas Cranmer, 1604. 1617.
      - Dorothy, bapt. 24 Mar. 1573.
      - Rachael, bapt. 7th Aug. 1577; married 14th Feb. 1597 to John Blenfield, Gent.
      - Anne, Wife of John Sellar.
      - Margaret, living 1604.
      - Sarah, bapt. 1st Jan. 1580.
      - Elizabeth, married Alexander Norwood
      - Susanna, Wife of —— Flood.
- Alice, dau. of —— buried at Wroxton, 20th May, 1578.
- Susan, married Thos., brother of Gen. Lord Cobham, 2dly, Anthony Vaughan, son of Sir Hugh Vaughan.
  - John Cranmer, Esqr. 1583. 1616 bapt. at Wroxton, 20th Sept. 1560.
  - Paul Cranmer, Esqr. 1583, bapt. at Wroxton, 8 July, 1565.
  - Maria, bapt. at Wroxton, 8th June, 1568.
- First Wife. Elizabeth, dau. of —— Crispe, of the Isle of Thanet.
  - Thomas Cranmer, ob. S. p.
- Vincent Cranmer, of Chepsted, in the Parish of Chevening, Co. Kent, Esq. bapt. at Wroxton, 20 Feb. 1546-7. Ob. Mar. 1610, æt. 62. (M. I. at Chevening) Will dat. 17 Dec. 1610, pr. 6th April, 1610.
  - Anne, dau. and heir, married Sir Arthur Harrys, Knt. eldest son of Sir William Harrys, of Cowick, Co. Essex, Knt. ob. 6 June 1613, æt. 57, bur. at Chevening. He living 1616. — Issue.
- Second Wife. Jane, dau. of Henry Gray, Esq. Co. Sussex, living 1620.
- Charles Cranmer, bapt. at Wroxton, 6th Dec. 1559.
- John Cranmer, bapt. 20th Jan. 1543.
- Margaret, bapt. 23d Sept. 1541.
- George Cranmer, Gent., eldest son, admitted of Christ Church, Oxford, 10th Jan. 1577, æt. 17. Slain in a battle near Castlegford, in Ireland, 13th Nov. 1600.
- William Cranmer, bapt. at St. Mildred's, 4th Nov. 1582, living 1604, of the Merch. Adventurers Comp. London, died at Rotterdam, before 13th Nov. 1650. Will dat. 14 Aug. 1650; Codicil 27 ejusdem pr. 11 Dec. 1650.
  - Sir William Cranmer, of London, Knt. born at St. Mildred's, Canterbury, buried at St. Leonard's, Bromley, Co. Middx. (M. I. at Canterbury,) died unmarried 21st Sept. 1697, æt. 87. Will dated 16th Aug., Codicil 3d Sept., pr. 28th Sept. 1697.
  - Elizabeth, Wife of — Webb, 1650, and his widow 1697.
  - —— married —— Hartley, both living 1650. — Issue.
  - Anne, married Sir — Clobery.
  - —— married —— Kentrick. — Issue.

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THE LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VIII.

1489 to 1529.

Birth and education of Cranmer—Is sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, and becomes a fellow of it—Marries, and is appointed reader at Magdalen College—His wife dies, and he is re-elected to the fellowship of his former College—Declines the offer of preferment in Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford—Is appointed divinity lecturer in his College; and, by the University, one of the public examiners in that faculty—Leaves Cambridge on account of the disease there—Repairs to Waltham—Interview there with Fox and Gardiner—Is asked by them his opinion as to the king's divorce—Gives it—Is, in consequence, brought before the king, and introduced to the earl of Wiltshire—Writes a treatise respecting the divorce—Is promoted by the king, and by him intended to be sent on an embassy.

THOMAS CRANMER, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, was born on the 2nd of July, 1489, at Aslacton, in the county of Notting-

ham.[1] His father was "a [1]gentleman of right ancient family, whose ancestor came in with the Conqueror." His great-grandfather, Edmund, married Isabel, an heiress, of the name, as well as of the village, of Aslacton. Their son was John Cranmer, who married Alice Marshall, of Muskham, in Nottinghamshire. These were the parents of Thomas Cranmer, who married Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in the same county; and the archbishop was their second son. So [2] late as in 1790, might be traced the pleasure-grounds which belonged to their mansion; at which time the ancient appearance of the walks is said to have been preserved; while it is regretted that a mount had been removed, which had been formed by Cranmer, upon the summit of which tradition reports that he was wont to sit and survey the country, and listen to the peals of village bells. Such are usually [3] among the delights of contemplative minds.

He was, at first, instructed by a man of harsh temper; whose conduct, as it afterwards was related by Cranmer himself, was such as to "[4] ap-

[1] Strype. And Addit. to Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, 1797, i. 264.

[2] Addit. to Thorot. ut suprà.

[3] Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
Whilst the landskip round it measures—
When the merry bells ring round.—MILTON, *L'Allegro.*

[4] MS. Life of Cranmer, C. C. Coll. Camb.

pal and dull the tender and fine wits of his scholars, so that they rather hated than embraced good literature."

The father of Cranmer was very desirous, however, that his son should be learned. To better guides his progress was, therefore, entrusted; and he was "[1] brought up not without much good civility." He was accustomed to the diversions of hunting and hawking, and was skilled in the use of the bow. In a word, he received the usual education of a gentleman; and, at the early age of fourteen, was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, by his mother, his father being then dead. There, among the *better sort of students*, as Foxe denominates them, he proceeded in "[2] right good knowledge."

Erasmus was [3] at Cambridge before Cranmer took his first degree. The student had then been trained to little more than scholastic subtleties, but was now, perhaps, encouraged by this restorer of learning to worthier pursuits. Erasmus himself informs us, a few years afterwards, how Cambridge had been [4] improving in elegant and useful literature; and, not long before this testimony was given, Cranmer (about 1510 or 1511)

[1] Foxe. [2] Ibid. [3] In 1506. Knight, Life of Erasmus.

[4] After adverting to the solemn trifling of the academical studies for many preceding years, he rejoices, in 1513, at the sound learning, good taste, and particularly the knowledge of the Greek language, that had gradually appeared. Lett. of Erasm. to Dr. Bullock, at Camb. Jortin, i. 49.

was elected a fellow of his College. Some have [1] supposed that he was not led to the cultivation of general learning till about this time, which may reasonably be doubted; since we find him, very soon afterwards, the [2] instructor of others. As a mere schoolman he would then have been disregarded; ancient prejudices being on the decline, and a taste for critical studies evidently encouraged. We may, therefore, fairly believe that to the excellent [3] guidance before him he had resorted somewhat earlier than the date of his fellowship, and was then highly distinguishing himself as a scholar, when love interfered with learning, and prevailed.

He married when he had [4] not attained the age of twenty-three, and before he had been admitted into holy orders. The late Dr. Milner, a prelate of the Church of Rome, professing to describe "facts as he finds them recorded by the most celebrated *Protestant* writers," says,

[1] Strype.

[2] As reader at Buckingham College. See note 2. p. 7.

[3] "The works of Faber, (Stapulensis,) Erasmus, and other good Latin authors." Foxe. "The Greek and Hebrew languages also." Archbishop Parker, 495.

[4] He admitted that he married his second wife, about twenty years after the death of the first. The second marriage was in 1532. These are his words to the papal commissioners in his last examination: "se duxisse mulierem in uxorem—circa viginti annos post mortem primæ uxoris suæ." Lambeth MSS. No. 1136. Printed at the close of the Oxford edit. of Strype's Cranmer, 1812.

"[1] that Cranmer *privately* married a woman *of low condition.*" Yet Foxe, the leader of those writers, informs us that she was *the daughter of a gentleman.* Nor do we know of any attempt being made to conceal the marriage. But the low condition is, perhaps, inferred from the words of another *Romish* writer, Dr. Thomas Martin; who, having[2] published, in 1554, a book against the *Marriage of Priests,* in which he bestows the coarsest ribaldry upon the clergy who had wives, and many a taunt besides at the learning of Cranmer, was, in the following year, the queen's proctor in the last proceedings against the archbishop, of whom he then asked, "[3] whether he had not married one *Joan,* surnamed *Black* or *Brown,* dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, in Cambridge." The sneer was treated with indifference. "[4] Whether she was called *Black* or *Brown,*" said the archbishop, "I know not." The antinuptial proctor was thus silenced as to further personal insult;

[1] Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. 5.

[2] He dedicated his book to queen Mary, telling her that "even heresy itself granteth us that your Highness *hath ever continued a virgin,*" glancing, perhaps, at the slander that had been raised against herself and Gardiner, (Burnet, iii. b. 5.) and giving her the assurance that the heretics of her realm, the Cranmers, the Ridleys, and the Latimers, did not believe it. This book could have preceded her marriage, which was in 1554, only a very short time. Martin appears to have been a man of despicable character. His book is supposed to have been formed by Gardiner and others.

[3] Foxe. [4] Ibid.

but forbore not to [1] record her as *Black Joan of the Dolphin,* not without the benefit of an [2] *alias* however, but with no account of her "condition," nor with a syllable relating to her by any of the witnesses who deposed as to the fact of the marriage. He writes only that she lived at an inn. Foxe and archdeacon Mason will presently tell us why she lived there. It has been reserved for a modern writer to affirm, from this *local habitation and a name,* "[3] that, doubtless, she was a servant;" softening the affirmation, at the same time, by rendering it the handmaid to a philosophical sketch (as it were) of the husband "[4] meekly retiring to live with her at the inn, there perhaps enjoying, such is the delusion and uncertainty of human prospects, that peace and tranquillity which was ever denied to his future grandeur!" But this *repose* is destroyed by another air-drawn picture of him at the inn, where, his enemies said, "he was the hostler." In truth, immediately after his marriage, he betook himself to what became a man of his attainments—the office of instructing others. He retired not from the University, nor did the

[1] Lambeth MS. ut supr.

[2] "Seu alio forsan nomine, vel cognomine, vocatam." Lamb. MS. ut supr.

[3] Lodge, Historical Portraits, 1829. Chalmers, in his Biograph. Dict. 1813, allows her to have been a gentleman's daughter.

[4] Lodge, ut supr.

University disown him, as if he had made an unworthy connexion. The connexion brought him no fortune indeed, but he maintained the respect that had hitherto been shewn him, and increased the reputation he had already gained. "[1] It chanced him," says the biographer, who was his contemporary, "to marry a gentleman's daughter; by means whereof he lost his fellowship, and became the reader in [2] Buckingham College; and, for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, *placed his said wife at an inn called the Dolphin, the wife of the house being* [3] *of affinity to her.* By reason whereof, and for his open resort unto his wife at that inn, he was much marked of some popish merchants; whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, bruiting abroad everywhere, that he was but a hostler, and there-

[1] Foxe.

[2] As Magdalen College was then called. The *lecturer* in any faculty was then, as in former days, called the *reader*. See Wood's Annals Univ. Ox. Fuller and Burnet consider Cranmer's present office as "the divinity-lecture;" Strype, as "the common lecture," from the MS. Life of Cranm. C. C. Coll. Camb.

[3] "He placed his wife at the Dolphin, the mistress of the house being her cousin." Archdeacon Mason, Of the Consecration of Bishops, &c. 1613, p. 73.

fore without all good learning." Fuller, in his pleasant manner, thus comments upon the slander: "[1] Indeed with his learned lectures (at Buckingham College) Cranmer *rubbed the galled backs, and curried the lazy hides,* of many an idle and ignorant friar." The spirit of free inquiry had been now awakened, and Cranmer, we may suppose, encouraged it.

In about a year after his marriage, his wife died. Such was his character, and such the regard of his former College for him, that he was [2] immediately restored to the fellowship he had forfeited. This has been a [3] singularly honourable proceeding. For the statutes or customs of the Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, reject, as fellows, both the widower and the husband; "[4] *maritos* vel *maritatos;* but the barbarous word *maritatos,*" Fuller shrewdly observes, "was not, or was not taken notice of, in Jesus College statutes. Cranmer herein is a precedent by himself, if that may be a precedent which hath none to follow it." His studies were now pursued with new ardour, and with great judgment. He rarely read [5] without a pen in his hand. The abundant references

[1] Hist. of Camb. Church Hist. 1655, p. 102.

[2] MS. Life of Cranm. C. C. Coll. Camb.

[3] An attempt, within our own times, is said to have been made, but without success, thus to reinstate an eminent member of the University, whose case was that of Cranmer.

[4] Hist. of Camb. Church Hist. 102.

[5] Melchior Adam, Vit. Cranm. inter Vit. Theolog.

he was thus accustomed to make readily served him, in the days of [1] controversy, for excellent defence, or easily led him on to absolute conquest.

The even tenor of his academical life now appears to have been undisturbed, till the agents of Wolsey, in 1524, were employed to collect, from both Universities, the most distinguished men of learning for the cardinal's new foundation at Oxford. To Cranmer the [2] offer of promotion in it was accordingly made. Nor was it disregarded. But, while he was on the way to accept it, he was [3] persuaded by some of his friends to decline it; and the refusal is [4] believed to have given great offence.

Proceeding to the degree of doctor in divinity, he was [5] appointed to the lectureship in that faculty, newly founded in his own College. About the same time (1526) he was chosen by the University one of the public examiners in theology; and his discharge of the office contri-

[1] Peter Martyr, mentioning the great number of books that he had seen thus noted by Cranmer, in regard to his controversy with Gardiner, adds, that the archbishop had done the same thing as to all other doctrines then in question. There are manuscript collections of the archbishop, now in the Lambeth Library, exhibiting the like kind of literary accumulations. MSS. No. 1107, 1108.

[2] Foxe. Strype. [3] Abp. Parker, 495.

[4] Foxe. Strype.

[5] "1526. Prælector theologicus in Collegio nostro (fortassè primus) ex fundatione Dⁿⁱˢ. Batemanson." Jes. Coll. Camb. MS.

buted to forward the Reformation. Before he was thus distinguished, he had been also one of the select [1] preachers employed by the University. He had now long studied the Scriptures. He had obtained the name of a Scripturist, which was given to those in the University who, by the Book of God, were led to think for themselves, and who were not without the suspicion of inclining to Luther. His [2] examination of those, who wished to proceed in divinity, was therefore not in the sentences of the schoolmen, as was the custom of former days, but in the sacred pages. To none, who were not well acquainted with these, would he allow the degree required; and by many, in after-days, he was ingenuously thanked for his conscientious determination, which bade them "[3] aspire unto better knowledge" than the sophistry they had hitherto studied. Persuaded as he must have been by Erasmus, he would now perhaps be also convinced by Luther, that the corruptions of the Romish Church were great and many; and from both might be collecting materials, as his manner of reading was, that were afterwards subservient to a systematic reformation in his own country.

But these and other studies at Cambridge were soon to be interrupted. An epidemic distemper appeared. To Cranmer was entrusted, at this

[1] MS. Jes. Coll. Camb. "Concionator academicus emissus."
[2] Strype. [3] Foxe.

time, the academical education of two youths, the sons of Mr. Cressy, a gentleman of fortune, residing at Waltham Abbey, whose wife was related to him. Thither he repaired with them, and, probably, returned to a collegiate life no more. The disease had perhaps shewn itself before the expiration of the year 1528, in which "[1] a pest occurred in several houses of learning," in the sister University also; and in which the sweating sickness too had renewed its visit to the metropolis and and other parts of the kingdom. If we consider the departure of Cranmer to have been in that year, and his stay at Waltham for the benefit of his pupils, to have been [2] continued till the summer of 1529, it will account for his absence from Cambridge, when he had been [3] nominated, under an expectation, it may be supposed, of his return, one of six eminent members of his University, as in like manner six were

[1] A. Wood, Annals Univ. Oxon. under 1528, edit. Gutch, 1796. Cranmer is described as leaving Cambridge "by reason of *the sickness* raging there." Life of Bp. Fisher, 1655, p. 89.

[2] He was some months at Waltham. Godwin, De Præsul.

[3] Strype. See also A. Wood, Ann. Univ. Ox. under the year 1528, ut supr. "*This year*, after Christmas and all the Lent time till Easter, was no other thing discoursed but of the king's marriage; because *the chief doctors of both the Universities* were met together at Lambeth, and had among them, every day, disputations concerning the said matter. But some being of one mind, and some of another, nothing was concluded till the main body of each University discussed it (in 1530) in their respective convocations."

appointed at Oxford, to confer upon the meditated divorce of Henry from Catharine. The Oxford historian [1] represents these delegates as assembled at Lambeth, in 1528. Opinions of distinguished persons had been before solicited. Wolsey repeatedly held assemblies of theologians to this purpose. In these early proceedings, which led to nothing decisive, Cranmer's place was supplied by [2] another, who, with the rest of the Cambridge delegates, was not of Cranmer's opinion, that the marriage was wrong. To this great subject, however, although as yet he was not engaged in it, Cranmer owed his introduction to preferment.

While he continued at [3] Waltham, the avoca-

[1] See the preceding note. [2] Strype.

[3] Fiddes (Life of Wolsey, 469) affects to bring discredit upon Foxe's account of the Waltham conference, which archbishop Parker and other historians, he says, have copied; as if the accurate and learned Parker, who lived in the time of his predecessor, and diligently collected whatever he could find relating to him, would have given so circumstantial a description if it had been unfounded. Even Dodd, the Romish church-historian, admits it. But Fiddes further contends, that the introduction of Cranmer to the king was occasioned by his personally defending the king's cause at Cambridge, and by Gardiner reporting this service to his sovereign. This is so far from being the case, that Gardiner, in his letter to the king, from Cambridge, takes no notice whatever of Cranmer being there, but mentions only his book upon the divorce, and the converts which that had made. But this was some months after the meeting at Waltham, and, consequently, after Cranmer had become known to the king.

tion of the cause to Rome had been decreed; and Campeggio, by whom, in conjunction with Wolsey, the cause was expected to have been determined in our own country, had taken leave of the king. Henry, to dissipate his vexation, [1]resolved on an excursion from the metropolis. He was attended by his secretary of state, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, soon afterwards bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Fox, then the royal almoner, and at length bishop of Hereford. Both had been much employed in the business of the divorce, the former being recently returned, the latter some time before, from the negociation respecting it at Rome. These attendants were now consigned, or invited, to the house of Mr. Cressy. Meeting with Cranmer, whom they probably knew to have been intended as one of the Cambridge disputants in 1528, and to whose high character they certainly could not be strangers, they naturally asked his opinion as to the removal of the delays that annoyed the king. The conversation would turn, of course, upon

[1] There is some humour in the relation of this excursion by the Romish author of the Life of Bishop Fisher: "The king conceiving great indignation hereat, [the further delay of his cause,] especially against the cardinal of York, whom he conceived not to have performed the utmost of his endeavours herein, retires himself into the country for a space, *as if, like the ram, he had run backward, that he might come on with a greater force of vengeance.*" Life, ut supr. 88.

the [1] advice which had been already given, that the Universities, both at home and abroad, should be consulted; and, upon the judgment lately transmitted by the University of Orleans, [2] That the marriage was contrary to the divine law, and therefore not to be dispensed with by the pope. "[3] I do think," said Cranmer to his fellow-guests, "that you go not *the next way to work, to bring the matter unto a perfect conclusion and end.* There is but one truth in it, which no men can discuss better than the divines, whose sentence may soon be known." Noticing therefore the "frustratory delays," the timidity and dissimulation of the papal court, he strongly urged the propriety of continuing the appeal to learned canonists and theologians; a measure which had probably [4] originated with Wolsey, but

[1] The bishops and clergy, convened by Wolsey to confer upon the subject, had long before agreed upon this expedient. Cavendish, Life of Wolsey. The Orleans decision bears date, April 5, 1529. The meeting at Waltham was in August, 1529. Foxe.

[2] Printed by Burnet, Rec. i. b. 2. 34. [3] Foxe.

[4] By Wolsey, indeed, *the project* of the divorce is now generally believed to have been suggested. See Burnet, iii. b. 2. Robertson, Charles V. b. 5. Turner, Hen. VIII. &c. Harpsfield, commenting on the end of Wolsey, calls him the *first* and *principal* mover of this unhappy divorce. Lambeth MSS. No. 827. fol. 15. Dr. Lingard, however, is inclined to think, from the well known letter of cardinal Pole to the king, that divines, sent to the sovereign by Anne Boleyn, were the first

as yet had been followed with the solemnity required only by the University of Orleans. The views of Wolsey, however, were very different from those of Cranmer. If the former was sincere in the prosecution of the divorce, still he meditated no contempt or disregard of the papal authority. He concurred, indeed, in some evasions interposed by that authority. The latter, convinced by his studies that the power of the bishop of Rome was an usurpation in this kingdom, thought the present a favourable opportunity to oppose it. He observed that the opinions of the Universities and learned persons, when collected, if they were in favour of the king, might at once decide the matter within his sovereign's own realm, or at least compel the pontiff to a definitive sentence.

His advice was so satisfactory to Gardiner and

movers of it.' Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 156. What this historian ascribes to Pole, another writer gives to Sanders, "by whom" the elegant defender of Anne Boleyn observes, "it has been pretended, that she engaged divines, devoted to her interests, to act on the king's conscience. *This remark confutes itself;* not only because it is palpable that his scruples originated in his inclinations, but because he was too expert in theological controversy to require such assistance, and had actually determined to rest his cause on a single passage in Leviticus. If Anne Boleyn ever sent divines to Henry, it was at a subsequent period, when he really entertained a scruple, or at least betrayed a repugnance, to casting off the pope's authority." Miss Benger's Mem. of Anne Boleyn, ii. 14.

Fox, that the former, with his characteristic cunning, proposed to report it to Henry as their own, while the latter ingenuously acknowledged to his sovereign the author of it. "[1] We met," says he, "with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your Highness's cause, he thought that the *next way* were, first to instruct and quiet your Majesty's conscience *by trying your question out by the Word of God; and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence.*"

Thus Gardiner himself afterwards argued, that "[2] though the judgment of God's Word *might have sufficed* to cast off her whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, yet the king was content *to have the assisting consent* of men of notable gravity, and the censures of the most famous Universities of the world." This wily prelate was then maintaining the supremacy of the king against the pope. It was the suggestion of Cranmer that led to the re-establishment of that supremacy. "[3] For though the king," as the Oxford antiquary rather quaintly expresses it, "acted John the Baptist, that it was not lawful for him to have his brother's wife; and the pope, king Herod; yet I am sure, in the catas-

[1] Foxe.

[2] Gardiner's De Vera Obed. 1534, translated in 1553 by M. Wood, fol. xvi.

[3] A. Wood, Annal Ox. ut supr. 1529.

trophe of the scene, the king served the pope, as Herod served the Baptist, and *beheaded his supremacy in the Church of England.*"

The Romish [1] author of the Life of Bishop Fisher says, indeed, that the advice of Cranmer was, simply, [2] that the king should declare himself the head of the Church within his own realm. Cardinal Pole has represented Cromwell, somewhat later, as [3] proposing the same conclusion to the divorce.

[1] The author of this curious book was not Thomas Baily, D.D. as the title-page pretends, but Richard Hall, D.D. a member of the same college (Christ's) at Cambridge, as Fisher had been, and afterwards a canon of St. Omer. He died in 1604, and left the life of the bishop in manuscript, which was deposited in the library of the English Benedictines at Dieuward, in Lorrain. Copies were afterwards taken of it, one of which fell into the hands of Baily, who sold it to a bookseller, and publicly called himself the author. See A. Wood, Ath. Ox. Art. *Lewis Bayly.*

[2] The author states the conference to have been between Cranmer and certain courtiers, and that Cranmer said, "Gentlemen, if the king knew but his own power so rightly as he might be given to understand the same, there would be no cause left him for discontentment, but rather a way paved unto him for all manner of satisfaction; for, if the king rightly understood his own office, neither pope, nor any other potentate whatsoever, neither in causes civil nor ecclesiastical, hath any thing to do with him, or any of his actions, within his own realm and dominion; but he himself, under God, hath the supreme government of this land in all causes whatsoever." Life, ut supr. p. 89.

[3] Dr. Lingard and Mr. Ellis inform us, upon the authority of Pole himself, that Cromwell had told him how, upon this occa-

But, indeed, long before, Gardiner had personally threatened the pope, "[1] that the king could do without him." It is curious also to find in the secret instructions from the king, sent to Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes at Rome, at the close of 1528, in which Henry declares his "*conceptum odium*," his determination to avoid the company of Catharine, that Vannes is thus commanded to address the pontiff. "[2] The said Mr. Peter, as of himself, shall say aparte unto his holynes, Sir, I being an Italian cannot, but with more fervent zeal and mind than another, study and desire the weale, honour, and suretie of your holynes and the see apostolique; which compelleth me to shewe unto your holynes frankly what I see in this mater. Surely, Sir, in case your holynes, continuing this particular respect of feare of the emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put over, the accomplishment of the

sion, he suggested to the king a method of overcoming the pope's opposition to the divorce, by taking the authority into his own hands, and declaring himself the head of the Church within his own realm; that the king was pleased with the advice, and made him a privy counsellor. Ling. Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 234. Ellis, Orig. Let. Ser. 2. ii. 119. But this was after Cromwell had attended Wolsey in his declining fortune at Asher, and consequently after the Waltham meeting.

[1] Gardiner's dispatch to Wolsey from Rome. Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. App. 67.

[2] Baker's MSS. Univ. Camb. vol. xxxviii. 401. Instructions by the king himself to his agents at Rome. See also Burnet and Collier.

king's so instant desire in this mater, and not imparte unto his Majestie therin bounteously of the tresour and graces of the Church and see apostolique, I see assuredly that it will be a means so to aliene the fast and entire mind which his Highnes beareth to your said holynes, as not only thereby his Grace, nobles, and realme, but also many other princes, his friends and confederats, with their nobles and realms, *shall withdraw their devotion and reverence from your holynes and the see apostolique,* studying how they may acquite this your ingratitude."

But to return to the conference, as related by Foxe, archbishop Parker, and others. The almoner had no sooner communicated the advice of Cranmer, than the delighted sovereign exclaimed, "[1] Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" Gardiner and Fox replied, that they left him there. "Marry, said the king, I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that [2] this man hath the right sow by the ear. And if I had known [3] this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great [4] piece of

[1] Foxe.

[2] "The king swore by his wonted oath, Mother of God, that man hath the right sow by the ear." Life of bp. Fisher, ut supr. p. 90.

[3] Of questioning the pope's dispensing power.

[4] It cannot be denied, that great sums of money were em-

money, and had also rid me out of much unquietness."

Cranmer had departed from Waltham. But a messenger was sent after him; and he was brought, unwillingly, into the royal presence. The interview is interesting. "[1] I well perceive," said the king, "that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand, that I have been long troubled in conscience; and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had thus proceeded. And therefore, master doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless, because you are a subject, I charge and command you, all other business and affairs set apart, to take some pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust."

Cranmer appears to have thought the plea of conscience sincere. Himself was certainly sincere in the opinion, that this affair might lead to the separation of his country from the despotism of the see of Rome. His was the sagacity of the many, who throughout Europe were in favour of the divorce, in order that, by checking the dis-

ployed in the prosecution of the divorce; that while many freely gave their unbribed opinion for the king, others moulded their suffrages to their interest. Henry now seems to speak feelingly of this. See Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, and Hen. Wharton, 18.

[1] Foxe.

pensing power of the pontiff, they might free the mind from that " [1] absolute monarchy which superstition had erected in it."

He therefore admitted, but with the diffidence that always distinguished him, the conversation into which he had been [2] accidentally drawn. "I am content therewith," said his sovereign; "but yet, nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein. And so, calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, he said, I pray you, my lord, let doctor Cranmer have entertainment in your house at [3] Durham-place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request; and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study."

The service, now required, was certainly not of his seeking; nor could the present notice of his opinion have been within his thoughts. What he was commanded, however, to do, he soon did; and produced a treatise alleging the king's object to be supported by the authority of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers; and at once affirming the bishop of Rome to have no authority that might dispense with the Word of God. Upon the perusal of the composition, the

[1] Lord Bacon.

[2] Gardiner and Fox much marvelling at Cranmer's being at Waltham. Foxe.

[3] Durham-place is said to have been on the site of the Adelphi, in the Strand; and to have been a house belonging to the bishop of Durham. Herbert, 246.

king said to him, "Will you abide by this, that you have here written, before the bishop of Rome?" Cranmer answered, "That I will do, by God's grace, if your Majesty shall send me thither;" and the royal reply was, "I will send you."

Such was the introduction of Cranmer into public life, as well as into the family of a [1] distinguished nobleman, who himself had been employed in foreign embassies on the business of the divorce, and who, as being the father of Anne Boleyn, was deeply interested in the process. The earl would be grateful for such a guest; the strong endowments of whose head could not but recommend him as a sound adviser, and the mild virtues of his heart as an intimate friend. By [2] Romish writers it has been said, that Cranmer was a dependant on the Boleyn family, and through

[1] Erasmus has given a very engaging character of this nobleman; that he was one of the most learned of his rank, that he had the mind of a philosopher as well as a Christian, that he was the patron of learning as well as an accomplished courtier, that he was a sincere admirer of the Scriptures, and that at his desire three pious treatises had been written by Erasmus himself. "These accomplishments," Strype justly observes, "as they rendered his house a suitable harbour for the learned and pious Cranmer, so were they not a little increased by Cranmer's converse and familiarity there."

[2] Sanders, and Dr. Lingard: The latter contemptuously calls him (and equally without proof as to Cranmer and her with whom he is associated) "a *dependant* on the family of *the king's mistress*."

the earl became known to the king. Of this dependance, no proof has ever been adduced. The introduction was the [1] reverse. Retained in the especial service of his sovereign, he was appointed one of the royal chaplains; and, by the king's donation also, [2] archdeacon of Taunton. By his noble host it has never been alleged that he was preferred. The monarch, who confided in him, would hardly suffer him, we may believe, to *depend* on other patronage than his own, or leave him any thing perhaps to ask. The intercourse with his sovereign was now frequent; and Henry soon discerned, what afterwards he avowed, "that he could have no difficulty while Cranmer was at his elbow." Nor were his merits overlooked by

[1] The MS. Life of Cranmer, C.C. Coll. Camb. also notices the introduction of Cranmer by the sovereign to the earl.

[2] Archbishop Parker, 496. "A rege archidiaconus Tauntonensis creabatur." The date of this promotion is not named. Le Neve in his Fasti refers it to the year 1522, but without any authority. There is no mention of it in the episcopal register of the bishop of Bath and Wells of that period; nor in the Chapter Acts of Wells, which indeed commence not till 1533. [Communicated by the present bishop of Bath and Wells.] Cranmer was preferred to this dignity, perhaps, soon after his introduction to the king; the archdeaconry being a lapse, we may suppose, to the sovereign, by its having continued vacant since the death of Dr. Honywood, the last incumbent, in 1522. Cranmer was also promoted by the king to a parochial benefice, the name of which is not mentioned. MS. Life of Cranmer. C.C. Coll. Camb.

the courtiers. Lord Herbert, [1] recording him as a very able man, adds, that he was much favoured by the nobility.

[1] Hist. Hen. VIII.

CHAPTER II.

1529 to 1532.

The embassy in which Cranmer was employed in 1530—*Pole's book on the divorce—Cranmer's account of it to the earl of Wiltshire—Goes abroad again as an ambassador—His transactions in Germany—Marries the niece of Osiander, at Nuremberg—Is summoned home to receive the archbishopric of Canterbury.*

CRANMER was now to appear, as he had engaged to do, before the bishop of Rome. He was accordingly joined with other divines to the embassy, at the head of which was the earl of Wiltshire. The king was still desirous, if yet it might be done, to obtain, from the perplexed and dilatory pontiff, a divorce in the regular way. Yet his agents were every where collecting decisions to disencumber him, when he pleased, of the authority to which he now again addressed himself.

But before Cranmer was thus personally employed to contend for his sovereign, his book was circulated to the same purpose. It was sent to Cambridge, before the final answer of that University was obtained in favour of the divorce;

which indeed was not obtained without repeated opposition, and even objection to the votes of those who, having read the treatise of Cranmer, were convinced by his arguments. It has been [1] said that he was present at the debate upon this occasion, and effected by public disputation what had been produced by his pen. But this could not be. The embassy of the earl of Wiltshire and his colleagues was [2] appointed at the close of 1529; and they departed soon afterwards. In February 1530, Fox and Gardiner (not with Cranmer as it has been asserted) were sent to Cambridge to procure the answer which has been noticed. In their letter to the king, detailing all the proceedings, they [3] speak indeed of Cranmer's book, but not of his presence, which, if he had been there, would certainly have been mentioned. They add a list of those who promised their votes to the king, among whom Cranmer is not named. He had now indeed left England.

His book accompanied him to Rome. But there the business still halted. Neither the political nor theological address of those, who were employed for Henry, could bring Clement to their purpose. The colleagues of Cranmer soon returned to report their ill success, and left him at

[1] By Strype and others.

[2] The king wrote to the bishop of Worcester and Cassali, Dec. 8, 1529, to say that he had sent sir T. Boleyn, Stokesley, &c. Lord Herbert, 291.

[3] Burnet has printed their letter. 1 Rec. b. 2. 32.

the papal court. On the 28th of July, in that year, he reports to Croke, another of the king's agents in Italy, the opposition he experienced. "[1] As for our successes here (at Rome), they be very little; nor dare we to attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope: nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power. And as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us." Cranmer had observed, that Clement was too devoted to the interest of the emperor Charles, to abandon, at that time, the subterfuges to which he had resorted.

Meantime a measure had been taken at home, which was intended, if the pontiff should disregard it, wholly to disclaim his further intervention. It was a memorial signed by the two archbishops, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, many peers, and others of inferior condition, urging the weight of such authority as sufficient to enforce the consent required. It bore the date of July 13, 1530. Two months and more elapsed before the papal answer was returned. That the answer was of a more conciliatory nature than the pontiff's observations hitherto had been, is certain. It was dated September 27. But it was ineffectual to the maintenance of his power. Before it could arrive in England, the royal proclamation had been

[1] Burnet.

issued, prohibiting the admission, into this country, of any bull from Rome that might interfere with the prerogatives of the king. This was the first important blow at the usurpation that by its indecision, and duplicity, contributed to its own defeat.

Many of the Universities, and many eminent theologians and canonists, had [1] now delivered their opinions in favour of the king: those of Italy, while Cranmer was there. In the papal court itself, too, Cranmer is believed to have found many agreeing with his own opinion, though cautiously expressing it, that the marriage of the king had not been lawful. Before the pontiff indeed, although he earnestly desired it, he was not permitted to dispute publicly upon the points in his treatise. The challenge was always civilly declined. And, as if to silence him with kindness, Clement bestowed upon him a mark of distinction, which Cranmer has been blamed for accepting, as though he had been insincere in his professions against the papal power. But that he exercised any authority, or derived any advantage, in consequence of this distinction, his enemies never pretended. "The earl of Wiltshire," says our Church-historian, "presented the pope a book of Cranmer's penning, proving God's law not to be

[1] The earliest, after that of Orleans in 1529, was in May 1530; the latest in October 1530. Fiddes, in his Life of Wolsey, and others, have erroneously assigned a much earlier date to these decisions of the Universities.

dispensed with by the pope; a book as welcome to his holiness as a prison, beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promise was made of a public disputation, but never performed. Only the pope *(who is excellent at making of nothing something by the solemn giving thereof)* made Cranmer supreme penitentiary *(an empty title)* [1] throughout all his dominions. This was only to stay his stomach, in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment."

After an abode of several months at Rome, he returned to England; probably soon after the fluctuating answer of Clement to the memorial of the English peers and prelates. He had conducted himself with so much prudence, that he was next appointed to be sole ambassador to him, who had joined with Clement in resistance to the king, the emperor Charles. His commission is dated in [2] January, 1531; but he appears not to have left this country, till at least after the month of June in that year.

That he crossed the Alps, without returning to his native land, on this appointment, there is no particular evidence. That he was at home in the

[1] Fuller, Ch. Hist. 1655, b. v. 182. Others describe Cranmer's nominal distinction as penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

[2] Strype.

month that has been named, there is sufficient. A book, written by Reginald Pole and addressed to the king, was then before him. Strype, and others led by his authority, assign this incident to the month of June in 1530, and accordingly so date the letter of Cranmer to the earl of Wiltshire upon the subject of the book. The letter plainly shews that, when it was written, Cranmer was in England. But in June 1530 he was at Rome. His account from Rome in the following month has just been cited. Moreover, Pole who had been required by Henry to procure in France opinions in favour of the divorce, a task which he declined, was not recalled from Paris before 1531. In the June of that year he was led to explain the motives of his conduct, and at the same time he is believed to have presented a [1] book upon the important question to his sovereign. Henry appears to have lost no time in communicating it to Cranmer. And Cranmer as quickly transmitted to his noble friend the substance of it. His epistle is interesting in many respects; as the earliest of his letters with which we are acquainted; as it analyses a book that had been

[1] Pole mentioned, on a future occasion, that he had delivered *a book to the king concerning his matrimony*. MSS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 335. It was probably given at this explanatory interview. Turner, Hen. viii. 610. n. See more of this *book* in Burnet, iii. Rec. No. 51. Dr. Lingard pretends, that Pole had now sent only a *letter*. Hist. of Eng. 8vo. vi. 240.

written and presented by Pole to the king, which the biographers of the cardinal had never seen; and above all, as it illustrates the spirit with which Cranmer at first opposed the papal authority; and shews him, while his sovereign yet leaned with superstitious reverence to that authority, firm in his disregard of it. He had now been at Rome; and it had long been among his prayers, "[1] that he might see the power of Rome destroyed;" for he had witnessed "so many things in it contrary to God's honour and the wealth of this realm, as to pray unto God continually that we might be separated from that see."

His letter to the earl of Wiltshire is as follows.

"[2] To the Right Honourable and my singular good lord, my lord of Wiltshire.

"It may please your lordship to be advertised that the king's Grace, my lady your wife, [and] my lady Anne, your daughter, be in good health; whereof thanks be to God.

"As concerning the king's cause, master Reynold Pole *hath written a book,* much contrary to the king's purpose, with such wit, that it appeareth that he might be for his wisdom of the council to the king's Grace; and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and known to the common

[1] Cranmer's lett. to the king, soon after he was archbishop, which presently will be given entire.

[2] Strype, Append. No. 1.

people, I suppose it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The principal intent whereof is, that the king's Grace should be content *to commit his great cause to the judgment of the pope; wherein, meseemeth, he lacketh much judgment.* But he [per]suadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were like to persuade many; *but me he persuadeth in that point nothing at all.* But in many other things he satisfieth me very well. The sum whereof I shall shortly rehearse.

" First, he sheweth the cause wherefore he had never pleasure to intromit himself in this cause. And that was, the trouble which was like to ensue to this realm thereof by diversity of titles. Whereof what hurt may come, we have had examples in our fathers' days by the titles of Lancaster and York. And whereas God hath given many noble gifts unto the king's Grace, as well of body and mind, as also of fortune; yet this exceedeth all other, that in him all titles do meet and come together, and this realm is restored to tranquillity and peace; so oweth he to provide that this land fall not again to the foresaid misery and trouble, which may come as well by the people of this realm, which think surely that they have an heir already, with whom they all be well content, and would be sorry to have any other; (and it would be hard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her;) as also by the emperor,

which is a man of so great power, the queen being his aunt, the princess his niece, whom he so much doth, and ever hath favoured. And where he heard reasons for the king's party; that he was moved of God's Law, which doth straitly forbid, and that with many great threats, that no man shall marry his brother's wife; and as for the people, it [be]longeth not to their judgment, and yet it is to be thought that they will be content, when they shall know that the ancient doctors of the Church, and the determinations of so many great Universities, be of the king's sentence; and as concerning the emperor, if he be so unrightful that he will maintain an unjust cause, yet God will never fail them that stand upon His party and for any thing will not transgress His commandments; and beside that, we shall not lack the aid of the French king, which partly for the league that he hath made with us, and partly for the displeasure and old grudge which he beareth toward the emperor, would be glad to have occasion to be avenged;—these reasons he bringeth for the king's party against his own opinion.

"To which he maketh answer in this manner. First, as touching the Law of God, he thinketh that if the king were pleased to take the contrary part, he might as well justify that, and have as good ground of the Scripture therefore, as for that part which he now taketh. And yet if he

thought the king's party never so just, and that this his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny but it should be well done for the king to refuse this marriage, and to take another wife; but that he should be a doer therein, and a setter forward thereof, he could never find in his heart. And yet he granteth that he hath no good reason therefore, but only affection, which he beareth and of duty oweth unto the king's person. For in so doing he should not only weake[n], yea, and utterly take away the prince's title, but also he must needs accuse the most and chief part of all the king's life hitherto, which hath been so infortunate to live more than xx. years in a matrimony so shameful, so abominable, so bestial and against nature, if it be so as the books, which defend the king's party, do say; that the abomination thereof is naturally written and graven in every man's heart, so that no excusation can be made by ignorance. And thus to accuse the noble nature of the king's Grace, and to take away the title of his succession, he could never find in his heart, were the king's cause never so good; which he doth [ac]knowledge to be only affection.

"Now as concerning the people, he thinketh [it] not possible to satisfy them by learning or preaching; but as they now do begin to hate priests, this shall make them rather to hate much more both learned men, and also the name of

learning, and bring them in abomination of every man. For what loving men toward their prince would gladly hear, that either their prince should be so infortunate, to live so many years in matrimony so abominable; or that they should be taken and counted so bestial, to approve and take for lawful; and that so many years, a matrimony so unlawful, and so much against nature, that every man in his heart naturally doth abhor it. And that [which] is more, when they hear this matrimony dispraised and spoken against, neither by their own minds, nor by reasons that be made against this matrimony, can they be persuaded to grudge against the matrimony but for any thing they do grudge against the divorce. Wherein the people should shew themselves no men, but beasts. And that the people should be persuaded hereto, he cannot think it.

"And as for the Universities, he thinketh and sayeth, that many times they be led by affections; which is well known to every man; and [he] wisheth that they never did err in their determinations. Then he sheweth with how great difficulty the Universities were brought to the king's party. And, moreover, against the authority of the Universities he setteth the authority of the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council. Then he cometh again to the pope, and the emperor, and French king. And first the pope, how much he is adver-

sary unto the king's purpose, he hath shewed divers tokens already, and not without a cause. For if he should consent to the king's purpose, he must needs do against his predecessors, and also restrain his own power more than it hath been in time past, which rather he would be glad to extend; and moreover he should set great sedition in many realms, as in Portugal, of which king the emperor hath married one sister, and the duke of Savoy the other. Then he extolleth the power of the emperor, and diminish[eth] the aid of the French king toward us; saying, that the emperor without drawing of any sword, but only by forbidding the course of merchandise into Flanders and Spain, may put this realm into great damage and ruin. And what if he will thereto draw his sword, wherein is so much power, [who,] being of much less power than he is now, subdued the pope and the French king? And as for the French men, they never used to keep league with us but for their own advantage, and we can never find in our hearts to trust them. And yet if now, contrary to their old nature, they keep their league, yet our nation shall think themselves in miserable condition, if they shall be compelled to trust upon their aid which always have been our mortal enemies, and never we loved them, nor they us. And if the French men have any suspicion, that this new matrimony shall not continue, then we shall have no succour of them,

but upon such conditions as shall be intolerable to this realm. And if they, following their old nature and custom, then do break league with us, then we shall look for none other, but that England shall be a prey between the emperor and them.

"After all this he cometh to the point to save the king's honour, saying, that the king standeth even upon the brink of the water, and yet he may save all his honour; but if he put forth his foot but one step forward, all his honour is drowned. And the means, which he hath devised to save the king's honour, is [1] this——

"The rest of this matter I must leave to shew your lordship by mouth, when I speak with you, which I purpose, God willing, shall be to-morrow, if the king's Grace let me not. Now the bearer maketh such haste, that I can write no more, but that I hear no word from my benefice; nor Master Russel's servant is not yet returned again, whereof I do not a little marvel.

[1] Here the subject abruptly closes. The means intended by Pole *to save the king's honour*, were evidently, as Strype observes, to refer the matter of the divorce wholly to the pope, and to reject the thoughts of the "new matrimony," now proposed, with Anne Boleyn. Anthony Wood, in his account of Pole, (Ath. Ox. 2d. edit.) affects to disbelieve that the cardinal addressed to the king the discourse in question, because, he says, Beccatelli, the cardinal's biographer, makes no mention of it. He misapprehends also Strype's account of it, as if the book had been written to persuade the king to go on with the projected marriage.

"The king and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsor, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Court. God be their guide, and preserve your lordship to his most pleasure.

"From Hampton Court this xiii. day of June, [1531.]

"Your most humble beadsman,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

Perhaps, on his leaving Rome in 1530, Cranmer might have travelled homeward through Germany, and then submitted to scholars and divines of that country the great question of the divorce. But it is more probable, that his address among the imperialists was not tried till soon after the date of this letter to lord Wiltshire; the pope at this time openly opposing the divorce, and the emperor encouraging the opposition. The letters of Oecolampadius and others, in the [1] August and September of 1531, shew that the subject was then under their especial consideration; and we may suppose that the ambassador, newly arrived from the English court, occasioned it. Cranmer's present embassy has been thus described. "[2] He was sent forward ambassador to the emperor then being in expedition against the Turk at Vienna; and, upon the emperor's return homeward through Germany, he had in

[1] Burnet, i. 92. edit. 1681. [2] MS. Life of Cranmer, C.C.C.

his journey as well conference with divers learned men, as with certain of the emperor's council, who, being of the contrary opinion, were by him allured to favour the king's cause."

But of such the number, though not the character, was inconsiderable. Among them was the celebrated Cornelius Agrippa; who for his public declaration, that the marriage of Henry was invalid, has been [1] reported to have been cast into prison by the emperor, and there to have died; though his death indeed was not in a prison.

From the Lutheran divines, with whom he principally conversed, Cranmer obtained but few suffrages. With Osiander, however, the celebrated pastor at Nuremberg, he became very intimate. Their friendship, which the political measure had helped to form, was strengthened by the niece of this divine accepting the hand of Cranmer, about the [2] beginning of the year 1532. Osiander then published a book concerning incestuous marriages, which, because it determined in favour of Henry's divorce, was by the imperial command suppressed. He drew up a [3] form too for the further process of the divorce. By the

[1] Burnet, and Strype. But see Bayle, and Le Grand. Agrippa died at Grenoble, a year after his release from prison, at Lyons, in 1535, on another account. See also Dissert. de Divortio Hen. VIII. à Tho. Asma, Lugd. Bat. 1787, p. 17.

[2] Burnet. See also note 4, p. 4.

[3] Strype. Burnet.

encouragement of Cranmer he completed also his Harmony of the Gospels. With the German Reformers, who held that the profession of celibacy was unnatural and not obligatory, Cranmer, we see, had now practically assented. Thus too he was leading the way to recovery of right in his own country; to that which has been a [1] circumstance of the utmost advantage to the morals and manners of society, the restoration of the ancient and apostolic usage of the Christian church, in allowing the priesthood to marry.

But besides Osiander, there were [2] other illustrious individuals in the Germanic States consulted upon the divorce, of whom the principal were Erasmus, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Zuinglius, Calvin, Luther, and Melancthon. The first, with his usual caution, declined a public declaration, overawed by the circumstance of his living within the dominions of the emperor; but is believed to have been on the side of the king. The second hesitated not to affirm as Cranmer thought, and wished. Bucer was not of this opinion. Zuinglius at large denied the dispensing power of the pope in the present case. Calvin at once [3] decided that the king was justified in his view of the in-

[1] Roscoe, Life of Leo X.

[2] Strype. Burnet.

[3] Ibid. Collier in his Ecc. Hist. affects to doubt the testimony of Calvin, because the letter, which contains it, is said to have been directed to no particular person.

tended separation. But of Melancthon the sentiments have been variously related, although his latest [1] biographer tells us, that the divines of Wittemberg drew up a paper disapproving of the divorce, and that Melancthon fully concurred with Luther upon the subject. Luther indeed [2] declared, that the divorce would be a greater violation of sacred duty than the marriage had been. In Germany, generally speaking, the divorce was certainly [3] not popular.

But upon other subjects than that of the divorce, the political abilities of Cranmer were also now employed in that country. He was instructed to make a secret visit to the court of Saxony, to deliver letters both to the elector and the other princes who had joined the Protestant

[1] Cox, Life of Melancthon, 2d edit. 1817, p. 376.

[2] Sleidan. Seckendorf. See also Luther's Epistles.

[3] "Germania propemodùm infremit matrimonium istud nunc tandem post tot annos in quæstionem vocari." Apologia, &c. Lunemberg, 1532, sign. c. 1. Pollini, with his usual love of the marvellous, believes a report that he cites, of one of the king's agents, who solicited suffrages in favour of the divorce at Hamburg and Lubec, dying miserably at Brussels in consequence of his employment; and that most of the members of the Universities which had favoured Henry, died soon afterwards: "fautori del divorzio mal capitati, e tosto morti, &c." Ist. Ecc. della Rivol. d' Inghilterra, 1594, p. 60.—It is remarkable that the king in his last letter to the pope, late in 1532, takes no notice of application to the German Universities, but only to those of England, France, and Italy. See Burnet, Rec. vol. i. B. 2. No. 42.

league, and to assure them, by conversation also, of his sovereign's friendship. Henry was disposed, like the French king, to foment between these confederates and the emperor any ill humour. It was his project of revenge for the imperial opposition to the divorce. But it had no important result. The pacification of Nuremberg indeed was effected within a [1] few days after this apparent effort to impede it; and the ambassador had to relate to his sovereign, instead of dissension, the principal terms of that memorable treaty. The scheme of Henry perhaps was never noticed by the emperor. Cranmer indeed adds in his dispatch to Henry, that Charles expected from him assistance against the Turks. But this was many weeks after the pacification. The ambassador was now on his way to meet the emperor at Lintz; and thus, with his habitual modesty and prudence, he details part of his services.

"[2] To the King's Highness.

"Pleaseth it your Highness to understand, that at my last solicitation unto Monsieur Grandville for an answer of the contract of merchandize between the merchants of your Grace's realm, and the merchants of the emperor's Low Countries; the said Monsieur Grandville shewed me, that forasmuch

[1] Burnet.

[2] Strype, Append. No. 2.

as the Diet concerning the said contract was lately held in Flanders, where the queen of Hungary is governatrice, the emperor thought good to do nothing therein without her advice, but to make answer by her, rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your Grace no further to look for answer of me herein, but of the queen, unto whom the whole answer is committed.

"Moreover, when the said Monsieur Grandville inquired of me if I had any answer of the aid, and subsidy, which the emperor desired of your Grace, I reported unto him fully your Grace's answer according to my instructions, sent unto me by your Grace's servant, William Paget. Which answer he desired me to deliver him in writing, that he might refer the same truly unto the emperor; and so I did. Nevertheless the emperor, now at his departing, hath had such importune business, that Monsieur Grandville assigned me to repair unto the emperor again at Lintz; for there, he said, I shall have an [1] answer again in writing.

"The French ambassador and I with all diligence do make preparation to furnish ourselves with waggons, horses, ships, tents, and other things necessary to our voyage. But it will be at the least viij. or x. days before we can be ready to depart hence. Yet we trust to be at Lintz before

[1] What answer was given to Cranmer, is not known.

the emperor; for he will tarry by the way at Passau x. or xij. days.

"As for the Turk, he resideth [1] still at Hungary, in the same place, environed upon all parties; whereof I wrote unto your Highness in my last letters. And the emperor departed from it back toward Vienna the second day of this month by land, not coming by this town. But the same day the king Ferdinand departed from this town by water; and at Passau, xiiij. miles hence, they shall meet, and so pass forth unto Lintz, which is the midway from hence into Vienna. And there the emperor will tarry to counsel what he will do; and there all the ambassadours shall know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandville shewed me.

"I have sent herewith unto your Grace the copy of the emperor's proclamation concerning a General Council, and a Reformation to be had in Germany for the [2] controversies of the faith. Also

[1] Solyman commenced his retreat late in September, 1532.

[2] "By their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion, [by the treaty agreed upon at Nuremberg, and now ratified at Ratisbon.] All the concessions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence." Robertson, Charles V.

I have sent the tax of all the states of the empire, how many soldiers every man is limited to for the aid against the Turk; wherein your Grace may perceive, that the greatest prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy and Austria except) is not appointed above 120 horsemen and 554 footmen.

"Thus our Lord evermore have your Highness in His preservation and governance. From Regensberg, the iiij. day of September, [1532.]

"Your Grace's most humble subject,

"Chaplain, and beadsman,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

His residence in Germany was now drawing to its close. There he had diligently watched the progress of that powerful opposition to the Church of Rome, which was then the theme of all Europe. To the new doctrines, ere he returned, he had perhaps become almost an entire convert. Leading principles in them he had long before approved. But the great sacramental error he as yet retained. The Protestant cause, however, had his heart. To the proofs of this regard we shall henceforward be led, in the objections which he fearlessly advanced against Romanism; in the pains which he bestowed upon forming the services and tenets of our Church; and in the encouragement which he gave to all, both of his own and other countries, who conducted or favoured the Reformation.

Such were his noble labours, as study and reflection by degrees aroused him to lay the foundations of our religious liberties. "[1] It is lawful and commendable for a man," said he, "*to learn from time to time;* and to go from his ignorance, that he may receive and embrace the truth."

[1] Defence against Gardiner, 2 edit. p. 71.

CHAPTER III.

1532 to 1533.

Is recalled from Germany—Nominated archbishop of Canterbury—His wish to have declined the appointment—Reasons for declining it—His second marriage considered—Submits to the honour of the primacy, not without interposing his protest against the papal authority, and is consecrated.

THE preceding letter had been written while the see of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Warham; though it could not then be known to Cranmer. The archbishop died on the 23d of August, 1532. But Cranmer was now commanded to leave Germany. Being informed, at the same time, by letters from some of his friends at home, that the king intended to make him archbishop, and that therefore they advised his speedy return; he, feeling [1] no inclination to accept the honour, none to relinquish the charms of study and the comforts of a private station, delayed his departure, under the hope that his procrastination might cause another to supply his place. "[2] I protest before you all," said he to

[1] Foxe. See also bishop Godwin's Annals, ed. 1630, p. 120.
[2] Foxe.

the papal commissioners at Oxford in their final proceedings against him, "never man came more unwilling to a bishopric than I did to this: insomuch that, when king Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time."

His enemies have disbelieved this solemn assertion. From his own to the present time they have asserted, or insinuated, that he was promoted to the archbishopric upon [1] condition of

[1] Cardinal Pole. See the Rev. Mr. Soames's recent and truly valuable History of the Reformation, i. 358. And Champney's De Vocat. Min. Tract. 1618, p. 392, which, however, is borrowed from Sanders; who, in the first edition of his English Schism, says also that an offer had been made of the archbishopric of Canterbury to Pole, if he would forward the king's divorce, which was refused; but of this offer and refusal not a syllable is found in the second edition of this mendacious writer. Dr. Lingard says "Can any man believe that Cranmer was ignorant of the object for which he was placed in the see of Canterbury?" Vindic. of his Hist. of Eng. p. 80. Can any man, I may add, suppose that Cranmer was a slave to base compliance, when he reads his answer, in his defence at Oxford, to the *like conjecture* of an elder adversary? "*Martin*, (to Cranmer,) You declare well by the way, that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we *conjecture* hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then queen Anne's chaplain, and the king: give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you leave to live in adultery? *Cranmer*. You say not true." The insulting proc-

annulling the king's marriage; and that no one within the realm, beside himself, could be found for such a deed; as if among those who signed the Memorial, formed in consequence of the pope's resistance to the divorce, there had been no prelate or divine, who, if he had filled the metropolitan chair, would, like Cranmer, have annulled the marriage; as if Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, by whom the royal scruples as to his marriage were first encouraged, would have refused; as if Sampson, another of these memorialists, and soon afterwards bishop of Chichester, one of the stoutest champions too for the regal supremacy, would have been slow to pronounce the sentence required. But, above all, there was among them he, whom Romish writers are rarely disposed to censure, the well-known Stephen Gardiner; and he, almost immediately after the sentence was given, did confirm it, by publicly declaring, "[1] seeing there is a commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what ought or could the king of England have done otherwise than by the whole consent of his people, and judgment of his church, he hath done? that is, that he should be divorced from unlawful contracts, and take to him chaste

tor made no reply, resorted to no proof of his *supposition*, and received no countenance to it from any one of the papal commissioners and witnesses then assembled.

[1] Gardiner's De Ver. Obed. Transl. fol. xvi.

and lawful marriage." The majority of the English clergy had indeed, like Cranmer, agreed entirely with their sovereign's view.

But they, who are unfriendly to the archbishop's name and character, descend to other cavillings of less importance. An elevation at once to the see of Canterbury to them seems objectionable, as if it had been unprecedented. And yet, in elder times, [1] Walden, dean of York, and Thomas Bredwardin, and Simon Islip, had been thus advanced to the primacy. Two years only also were past, at the time of Cranmer's promotion, since Lee had attained, without an intermediate prelacy, the archbishopric of York. Nor should it be forgotten that Pole, the successor of Cranmer, was at once consecrated, the day after his predecessor's martyrdom, archbishop of Canterbury. Let me add that to the practice which had been thus repeated, and has been unjustly challenged, recourse has since been had in the promotion of those illustrious ornaments of the Church of England, Parker, Sancroft, and Tillotson.

Objection has also been made to Cranmer's declaration of delay, as if it was unworthy of belief; because there are few instances, it is alleged, of the see of Canterbury being filled

[1] Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 6, 7. See Dr. Lingard's Vindic. of his Hist. of Eng. p. 79. And the Answer to it by the present author, p. 44.

so soon after a vacancy as in [1] six months, and that therefore his was merely the delay of form, not of unwillingness. But the precedents in contradiction of this assertion are numerous. Unusual [2] dispatch to procure from Rome the bulls for his promotion is next pretended. And yet, before his consent could be obtained to accept the promotion, nearly four months had elapsed; and, when the papal instrument arrived after two months more, he still deferred his consecration another month. There can be little doubt that he foresaw the difficulties and the danger that were likely, under a monarch so impetuous and yet so superstitious as Henry, to surround the lofty station proposed to him. This, of itself, would lead him to decline the proposal. His recent marriage might strengthen this reluctance.

[1] Dr. Lingard. But the dates of vacancy and succession in the cases of Islip, and Chichelè, and Stafford, and Kemp, and Bourchier, and Dean, from 1349 to 1501, are all *within* that time.

[2] In order that he might pronounce, as archbishop, the sentence of divorce. "By the time Cranmer's bulls arrive, the king's mistress is several months gone with child; *not a moment is to be lost.*" Dr. Lingard, Vind. of his Hist. p. 80. The bulls being arrived, what is then said to Cranmer? Any hint for extraordinary dispatch, either in regard to his own business, or the pretended hazardous state of the lady? If there was, he strangely neglected it; for, after the receipt of the bulls, he delayed his consecration *more than a month*, which Dr. Lingard expedites into *a few days*.

For, " [1] however liberal his own sentiments might be on the subject of the marriage, he knew the prejudices of the world ran strongly against him. I call them prejudices only, because, I think, it does not appear, that the *secular* clergy, at that time, were absolutely required to take the vow of celibacy." They were subject, however, if they married, although an express vow had not been made, to papal punishment or censure. Hence it has been suggested that " [2] certain misgivings, which taught him to fear the consequences of his late *illegal* marriage in Germany," might be the cause of Cranmer's hesitation to return to England. The common law of this country, however, would [3] not have pronounced it *illegal*. But Cranmer might suppose that still it would subject him to the clamour of ignorance and superstition, as exhibiting in his promotion, if it were at once acknowledged, the overthrow of the absurd tenet, that he who had been [4] twice married should not be made even a priest, much less a bishop. Might

[1] Gilpin, Life of Cranmer.

[2] Dr. Lingard, Vindic. of his Hist. p. 74.

[3] It was decided in the law courts, in the reign of Henry VII, that the marriage of a priest is voidable, but not void; and, consequently, that his issue shall inherit, being legitimately born. Foxe, 1073. Soames, Hist. Ref. i. 344.

[4] This is evidently the reason of bishop Godwin's saying, " quod maximè angebat, conscientia fuit uxoris ductæ;" the above immediately following this passage.

not part of his present anxiety too arise from knowing that his wife could not in England be as yet received as such, and from his determination therefore to leave her for a time in Germany? It is [1] supposed to be *uncertain* whether this marriage had ever come to the knowledge of Henry, or was considered by him invalid according to the canon law. Foxe assures us, that the king was not ignorant of it. The king's importunity, bishop Godwin adds, at length prevailed with Cranmer beyond *all scrupulous difficulties.* Whether among these he urged the circumstances of his marriage to the king, [2] some have doubted, while they have considered it certain that the affair was made easy to him. There ought surely to be no doubt that the marriage was known to his sovereign. Cranmer would not otherwise have dared, in the very first year after his consecration, to send for the lady, however privately, from Germany, where he had left her on his recall to England. From the year 1534 till the promulgation of the Six Articles in 1539, she certainly lived with him as his known though not publicly acknowledged wife. That the danger of an intermediate royal proclamation against the marriage of priests might also not affect the archbishop, the penalty therein was [3] limited not to such as were then

[1] By Dr. Lingard. [2] Gilpin.

[3] The proclamation is printed by Strype, Life of Cranmer, and by Wilkins, Concil. iii. 776.

married and kept their wives privately, but to such as kept them openly, and to such as should subsequently marry. But when the predominance of Romish influence had put an end to the connivance of the king, and he thought fit publicly to ask the primate about his wife, the answer was, that, in submission to the bitter law, he had sent her to Germany "[1] *upon the passing of the Act against priests having wives.*" These simple facts have been converted, by [2] one of the Romish revilers of the archbishop, into an account of the wife coming from Germany with him, and of a [3] ridiculous kind of secrecy adopted, because the king, whom the archbishop greatly dreaded, enacted the punishment of married priests, a year or two only after Cranmer's promotion, in the Six Articles! Thus there has been nothing too

[1] In the Six Articles. [2] Anthony Champney.

[3] That she was carried about in a chest. The invention indeed of Sanders, adopted by the jesuit Persons, Champney, and other minor Romanists; by the ribald Ward, of later times; and by Dr. Milner in our own. "Some," says Sir John Harington in 1608, "have cited the testimony of his (Cranmer's) son's widow, yet living, that she (Cranmer's wife) was carried in a trunk, and by misfortune almost stifled, by being set by an ignorant porter with her head downward; *which talk goes very current among papists.* I can truly affirm *that this is a mere fiction;* for I have examined the gentlewoman herself, being of kin to my wife, and she hath sworn to me, she never reported, nor ever herself heard, of any such misfortune." Brief View of the Church of Eng.

absurd, too open to immediate refutation, which Romanists have not [1] invented against him, because he dared to vindicate the liberty of every Christian by marrying. They were incensed at his return to England, in despite of the *misgivings*, if such there were, that have been imputed to him on account of his marriage. They renewed their fury in their objections against him, when they had him in their power; but among their objections his *misgivings* are not named. The great but fallen prelate answered them, with honest exultation, in referring to this marriage from the day of its celebration; and at the same time exposed the abominable conduct of those who professed celibacy, and practised adultery. "[2] It was objected against him, that, in the time of king Henry the eighth, he kept his wife secretly, and had children by her. *He answered, that this he granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.*"

After repeated entreaties to be exempted from a burden, which he considered himself not able to bear, he submitted to the [3] *command* of his

[1] Even Bossuet has descended to the rank of a slanderer of Cranmer, on this account. See his Hist. des Variat. ch. 7.

[2] Foxe.

[3] Bishop Godwin, noticing the objections of Cranmer to his promotion, adds, "*the king's pleasure must necessarily be obeyed*, and Cranmer knew that if he slipped ever so little, envy,

sovereign; not without stating, however, as an obstacle to the elevation, the oath of fidelity to the pontiff, which had hitherto been exacted from those who were promoted to the prelacy in England. The king, he said, was the supreme head of the Church of England, and to him alone the oath was due. He was conforming, indeed, to the recent [1] acknowledgment which had been made by the clergy in convocation. He wanted no bulls from Rome, which would now be utterly inconsistent with the allegiance due to his sovereign. But that still irresolute sovereign was content, instead of disclaiming at once, as Cranmer would gladly have done, all papal interference, to hear his [2] canonists suggest a measure, that before the new primate should take the oath, a protest might be made; in which he should de-

the mischievous attendant of great felicity, would help him forward to a breakneck." Fuller too, upon this occasion, observed, "there lieth no *nolo episcopari* against King Henry's *volo te episcopum esse*; it being as mortal to refuse favours *from* him, as to offer injuries *to* him."

[1] Of the royal supremacy.

[2] "It pleased his Highness," said Cranmer to his papal judges, "many and sundry times to talk with me of the usurpation of the pope in his dominions; and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the bishop of Rome, the king himself called Dr. Oliver and other civil lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow the archbishopric upon me, enforcing me nothing against my conscience; who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of protestation, &c." Foxe.

clare that he took it in no sense, but such as was wholly consistent with the laws of God, with the rights of his sovereign and the statutes of the realm, with the liberty of speaking his mind freely in matters of religion, and even of opposing the authority of the pontiff. This expedient for Cranmer to bid the world take notice of the compulsion with which he received the bulls, and of the sense in which he regarded them, being adopted; the king proceeded to ask them of Clement, suspending, in this case, the power of his proclamation, which had not long before been issued against proceedings by such instruments from Rome. Nor was Clement disposed to irritate further the sovereign whom he had so long provoked. He therefore accepted the nomination of Cranmer, however unwelcome it was; and transmitted the forms required. Upon the arrival of them, Cranmer delivered them to the king; and from the king, and not from the pontiff, he [1] declared then, and to the very last of his days, that he took them in order to his elevation. They testified the lingering submission of Henry to the

[1] His recorded reply to the papal commissioners, in the last proceedings againt him at Oxford, is, "se recepisse bullas à Curiâ Romanâ, et à Romano pontifice, pro receptione archiepiscopatûs Cantuar. *Quas bullas, ut asseruit, obtulit tunc regi Henrico octavo, et ab eodem rege et ejus auctoritate, ut etiam asseruit, eundem archiepiscopatum recepit.*" Lambeth MS. ut supr. No. 1136.

see of Rome; but they were the last humiliating documents of the kind, which were here received in his reign.

The bull for Cranmer to succeed Warham was dated [1] Feb. 22, 1532-3. He was consecrated, March 30th, following, by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. Before he took the oath of obedience, on this occasion, to the see of Rome, the Roman Catholics assert that he retired into a private room and protested against it. So far was the transaction from being private, that the protest, in conformity to the resolution he had made, was delivered openly, and publicly, before witnesses specially and officially named, and doubtless before those who were appointed to consecrate him, as well as other attendants. The protest, before it be further investigated, requires to be presented to his countrymen in their own language. It was as follows.

"[2] In the name of God, Amen. I Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury elect, do before you, persons of authority and credible witnesses, here present, say, allege, and, by this present instrument in writing, openly, publicly, and expressly protest, that whereas before my consecration, or

[1] Le Neve, Fasti.

[2] The original, in Latin, is in Cranmer's Register, Lambeth library, fol. 4, and has been printed by Strype, Collier, and others. The English translation is given in Lindsay's edition of Mason's Vindication of the Church of England, &c. p.133.

at the time thereof, I am obliged to take the oath, or oaths, usually taken by the archbishops of Canterbury elect to the pope, for form sake, rather than for any essentiality or obligation there is in the thing, in order to my obtaining the same: It neither is, nor shall be, my will or intention to oblige myself by the said oath, or oaths, howsoever the same may seem to be worded, to any thing hereafter to be said, done, or attempted, by reason thereof, which shall be, or seem to be, contrary to the law of God, or contrary to our most illustrious king of England, or the commonwealth of this his kingdom of England, or to the laws or prerogatives of the same: And that I do not intend to oblige myself by the said oath, or oaths, in any manner whatsoever, so as to disable myself freely to speak, consult, and consent, in all and singular the matters, and things, any way concerning the reformation of Christian religion, the government of the Church of England, or the prerogatives of the crown thereof, or the good of the commonwealth; *and every where to execute and reform those things, which I shall think fit to be reformed in the Church of England.* And I do protest and profess, that I will take the said oath, or oaths, according to this interpretation and this sense, and none other, nor in any other manner. And I do further protest, that whatsoever the oath may be, which my proctor hath already taken to the pope in my name, it was not my in-

tention or will to give him any power, by virtue whereof he might take any oath in my name contrary to, or inconsistent with, the oath by me already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to our said illustrious king of England: And, in case he hath taken any such contrary or inconsistent oath in my name, I do protest, that the same being taken without my knowledge, and without my authority, shall be null and invalid. *And these my protestations I will have to be repeated, and reiterated, in all the clauses and sentences of the said oaths:* From which [protestations] I do not intend, in any manner whatsoever, by deed or word, to recede, nor will recede, but will always hold the same to be firm and binding to me."

This instrument accordingly was thrice interposed at the ceremony of his consecration; first in the chapter-house of St. Stephen, Westminster, before those who were directed not only to witness but to record it; next on his proceeding from the chapter-house to the altar in the church, to receive consecration; and lastly, after the consecration, on receiving the pall.

But, in regard to the first of these nullifications, "[1] Did not Cranmer," say the Roman Catholics, "just before he took the oath, retire into a private room, and protest against it? Was this honourable?" Again, "[2] With the royal approba-

[1] Butler, Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 216.

[2] Dr. Lingard, Hist. of Eng. Both Dr. Lingard and Mr.

tion Cranmer called four witnesses into St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster; and [1] all that he did, was to say before the four witnesses, that he meant to take the oath in the sense of the protestation which he had already made in their presence: Its purport was still kept secret; carefully concealed from the public; [2] otherwise, the news would quickly have reached Rome; the archbishop would have been suspended from the exercise of his office; and his judgment, in the great cause of the divorce, would have been liable to the same objection, as if he had, in the first instance, been consecrated without the papal approbation: The motives, which induced Henry to solicit that approbation, equally required *that the protest should be kept secret.* [3] To palliate the duplicity of the archbishop, it has been alleged that he either repeated the protest at his consecration, or at least said that he took the oath in the sense of such protestation. But, says the author of No. IV. in the appendix to the third

Butler follow the unjust insinuations of Phillips in his Life of Cardinal Pole, 2d edition, ii. 210.

[1] Dr. Lingard, Vindic. of his Hist. p. 77.

[2] Ibid. p. 75.

[3] Lingard, Hist. of England, 8vo. vi. 255. The historian admits that the words, *secret protest*, are offensive, but that he has not used them. Yet he forgets that in his pages he cites "the theological legerdemain, the *secret protest*" of Cranmer. Hist. vi. 282. Vindic. of the Hist. 74.

volume of Burnet, *I wish it could be* [1] *proved.* I have two letters (MSS. Latin) of cardinal Pole to Cranmer, in which he charges him with having done it only in a private manner, and brands his proceedings therein with such expressions as I am unwilling to transcribe."

Such is the substance of what Pole, Phillips, Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Butler, have advanced in order to fix upon this transaction the stain of a dishonourable privacy. The [2] pretence of Sanders, that the archbishop made his protest only before a single notary, while he dares not deny the instrument to be attested by other witnesses, is a falsehood that confutes itself, and is worthy of no further notice than that it confirms the character of gross untruth, which has been so often and so justly bestowed upon his pages by distinguished writers both of our own and other countries.

Had Cranmer now been bent on secrecy, he would hardly have "called his [3] *four* witnesses," and a *fifth* to record both his own and their testimony, into a place usually chosen for [4] public and solemn transactions. A "[5] private room" indeed

[1] The proofs will presently appear.

[2] De Schism. Angl. 1585, fol. 58 b. [3] Lingard.

[4] Wilkins, Concil. iii. 754. Collier ii. Rec. p. 40. Where the acts too are attested in the manner that the present protest is.

[5] Phillips. Butler.

would best have suited a private purpose. But it was to the chapter-house of the church, in which he was to be consecrated, that he proceeded, not "[1] retired;" and there interposed, in the first instance, that opposition to the oath, which, in the face of the world, was presently to be repeated. Not that the primary interposition of his protest would be delivered [2] only before the witnesses specially required, but doubtless before the bishops also who consecrated him, and perhaps before several other persons. Had the doors of the chapter-house been closed against the officiating prelates, there was at least [3] one of them, Dr. Standish, too devoted to the papal interest not

[1] Philips. Butler. In the chapter-house of cathedrals several public acts are performed by those elected to the see, previously to their consecration, and there attested. See Strype, Life of archbishop Parker, Life of bishop Grindal, Life of archbishop Whitgift, &c.

[2] "It professes to be made before the prothonotary, not the consecrating bishops: *Coram vobis authentica persona.*" Lingard, Vindic. 76. But Dr. Lingard should have added, *et testibus fide dignis*, viz. the persons required to witness it, in addition to the prothonotary. The form of the protest precisely agrees with an abundance of such instruments, which might be cited, wherein certain persons are specially appointed to attest, while none are excluded from beholding, the performance of what the instruments record.

[3] Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, was a most zealous favourer and asserter of the (Roman) Catholic religion, for which, had he lived longer (than 1535) he would have suffered much. A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

to have immediately resented the attempt at concealment, and perhaps to have hesitated at consecrating the archbishop. But the three prelates, who were to administer the papal oath to him, appear to have been all satisfied; and therefore must have known, we may conclude, the whole of the protestation. The news of the entire ceremony too would soon reach Rome. But no suspension from the archiepiscopal office ensued. The king indeed would have nullified any proceeding of the pontiff against the archbishop. The pontiff would be aware of this, and he was therefore silent.

Yet secrecy it may be thought, might be enjoined to all who witnessed the interposition of the protest (the only interposition, as some have pretended) in the chapter-house. But had this been even so, there were among those, expressly named to attest the instruments, more than one who survived the archbishop; in particular, the very officer who prepared the instrument, and who in the reign of Mary was one of the papal witnesses against him; yet neither by him, nor by any of the rest, was it ever pretended that the protest was privately made, or that they considered the proceeding of the archbishop in any other view, than as a plain declaration of the course of action which, without mental reservation, he was determined to pursue.

The record of all the proceedings upon this

occasion is preserved. They form part of the process against the archbishop, in the year 1555, the whole account of which was transmitted to Rome.

The first observable circumstance is the direction of the archbishop to Watkins, the prothonotary, to make the [1] public instrument for re-

[1] Lambeth MSS. No. 1136. ut supr. "In Dei nomine Amen. Per presentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis appareat evidenter, et sit notum, quòd anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, etc. mensis verò Marcii die tricesimo, in domo Capitulari Collegii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palacium Regium Westm. etc. constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cantuar' Archiep' (ut dicebat) electus, in mea [Watkins] prothonotarii Regii ac notarii subscripti, ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis Tregonwell legum doctoris, et Thome Bedyll clerici à consiliis dicti domini nostri Regis, Richardi Gwent decretorum doctoris Curie Cantuar' officialis principalis, et Johannis Cocks legum doctoris etc. vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum presentia, *protestationes quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ac cetera fecit, prout in quadam papiri scedula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit, plenius continebatur. Cujus quidem scedule* verus tenor (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur, et talis est. In Dei nomine, Amen. Coram vobis, etc. (See the Protest in a preceding page of this volume.) Then Watkins adds, "Super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis dictus rev. pater me prothonotarium et notarium predictum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit.

"Et deinde die mense et anno predictis dictus rev. dom. Tho-

cording the protest; who accordingly testifies that the primate produced and read certain protesta-

mas electus, in mea et prelibatorum ven. virorum presentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum, dict' domum Capitularem exivit, et ad gradus summi altaris dicti Collegii vestibus sacerdotalibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecracionis perrexit," etc. Then follows the recital of the oath of obedience to the pope, and Watkins's account how Cranmer, as he had protested, understood it: "Manibus suis tenens, ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramenti in eadem contenti prestacionem, in mea et eorundem testium presentia asseruit et protestatus est, se dictam scedulam lecturum ac juramentum inibi insertum prestiturum sub premissis protestacionibus alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo Capitulari in mea et eorundem testium presentia habitis et factis, et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinenter post premissa *eandem scedulam perlegit, et ut in eadem continetur juravit. Super quibus assertione et protestacione* per eundem modo premisso tunc ibidem factis unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta, ac testes prescriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc rogavit et requisivit.

"Quibus sic peractis die mense et anno predictis, ac solenni consecracione ejusdem rev. patris finita et expedita, idem rev. pater dom. Tho. Cantuar. Archiepiscopus ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus, in mea et dict. Joh. Tregonwell, Tho. Bedill, et Rich. Gwent, testium predict. ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum, ante prestacionem juramenti infrascripti iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum sub eisdem protestacionibus ut premittitur in dicto dõmo Capit. habitis et factis," etc. Then follows the oath as it is printed, from the Register of Cranmer, by Strype and others; and Watkins continues, "Super *qua protestacione* sic ut premittitur per eundem reverendissimum *tercio facta et habita*, idem rev. pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum unum vel plura

tions, before he took the papal oath; in the recital of which we have already seen him declaring, "that he will have these protestations to be repeated, and reiterated, in all the clauses and sentences of the oath." The prothonotary records them thrice. Strype has also related that [1] such was the fact, which Dr. Lingard has thought fit to deny. Twice was the protest interposed at the altar of the church, in the presence of a very [2] numerous congregation. The interruption of the ceremony by so unusual a circumstance must, undoubtedly, have excited inquiry as to the purport of the declaration, which no one, it appears, was then or at any other time forbidden to communicate at large, to blame or to commend.

But whether the protest was public or private, it has been [3] alleged by a very learned writer to be of

publicum seu publica instrumentum exinde conficere, ac testes predictos testimonium perhibere *de et super eisdem eciam tercio rogavit et requisivit.*"

[1] It is quite clear that at every part of the ceremony he publicly renewed the protestation: yet says Dr. Lingard, it is evident that even according to Strype's narrative of Cranmer's consecration the protest was not repeated, Vindic. 77; whereas, if the historian had looked further into the biographer's pages, he would have found it is described as "done in the most open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, that all might take notice of it." Life of Cranm. B. iii. ch. 20.

[2] "In the presence of as much people as the church could hold." Cardinal Pole.

[3] Hallam, Constitutional Hist. of England.

no great importance to inquire. Yet as the inquiry has led to a due appreciation of charges brought against the archbishop, and of eagerness at any rate to condemn him, it has certainly been very important. But he had [1] engaged, it is also said, to take a certain oath, in order to procuring the bulls from Rome, and had no right to limit the meaning of it. He would have had no such right, if to that purpose he had been under an absolute stipulation. It was the pleasure of his sovereign, but his own aversion, we have seen, that these forms should yet be followed. But instead of engaging himself to the oath, he declared to the king, that without the liberty of opposing it he would decline the honour that was proffered. Of this conduct he never afterwards repented. "[2] I indeed," said he to his enemies at the last, "*bona fide* made my protestation; I caused it to be enrolled; and there (in the register) I think it remaineth." Even when at the stake, as if referring to the many falsehoods respecting this and other transactions by him, he declared that with no other prevarication could he reproach himself, than for the recanting papers he had signed under the hope of saving his life; "[3] Ah, my masters, always since I have lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled."

[1] Hallam, Constitutional Hist. of England.

[2] Foxe. [3] Ibid.

Thus much for the notoriety of the protest. It has been wished, that he had taken the papal oath, as his predecessor Warham had taken it, without reserve or explanation, and then proceeded quietly in opposition to the pontiff, as that prelate is believed to have done by submitting, not long before, to the regal supremacy, and thus advancing a decisive step towards a reformation. The clamour against Cranmer, as to disingenuousness, might then, it has been thought, have been comparatively little, or none. But Cranmer was sincere, and Warham the reverse. The latter had no intention of swerving in any degree from the papal interest. He apparently had supported several of the royal proceedings, and had taken the oath of supremacy to his sovereign; but while it was a secret to him to whom that oath was taken, and by whom it was imposed, (which is one of the allegations against Cranmer,) Warham made a[1] protest, in February 1531-2. which is entered in his register, to the effect, "that whatsoever statutes had passed, or were to pass in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the pope or the apostolic see, or that derogated from or lessened the ecclesiastical authority or liberties of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them,

[1] Burnet, in his third volume, gives a copy of this protest as a private paper in the possession of an individual, and therefore as a great curiosity. But it is in Warham's own register. See Wilkins, Concil. iii. 746.

but disowned and dissented from them." This confirms what Dr. Lingard has said, though he has concealed the present circumstance, that "[1] Warham was zealously attached to the ancient doctrines and the papal authority." Nor has the conduct of another devoted servant to the papacy been set in opposition to that of Cranmer, as it ought to be, by any of the Romish Church; namely, that of Stephen Gardiner, who, very soon after Cranmer's promotion, asserted that "an engagement against right is by no means binding;" he having lately taken the oath of obedience to the pope, and now refusing the supremacy maintained in it. "[2] In the ecclesiastical decrees," he adds, "it is established that no man is bounden to perform an unlawful oath, &c.—When they who accuse me of perjury are driven back, they will go about to burthen me with unadvised temerity for promising by my oath what was not lawful for me to perform. Well, Sir, but I thought it had been lawful; and not I alone, but with the judgment of many men.—Why should I be afraid of other folks' evil reports, as long as I do my duty to Truth alone, and according to her mind *obey my prince, the supreme head in earth of the Church of England.*" Others might be cited, who took the oath of allegiance professedly both to the king and

[1] Hist. of Eng. 8vo. vi. 252.

[2] Transl. of his De Vera Obed. (which he published in 1534,) fol. lx. a.

to the pontiff, and by the latter were secretly [1] absolved from their obligation to the former, in subservience to the papal interest. But too much, perhaps, has been already said, had it not been just to defend, at least against the charge of secrecy, that which, after all, the bishop of Meaux has pronounced "[2] a useless protestation; for which of us," he says, "pretends to engage himself, by his oath to the pope on his consecration, to any thing which may be contrary to his conscience, or to the service of his king or his country? far from designing any prejudice to those interests, it is expressly stated in that oath, that it is taken without prejudice to the order of him who swears, *salvo ordine meo.*" Hence the inference drawn by the excellent modern historian of the Reformation: "[3] It seems probable that the oath imposed upon Romish bishops is so contrived as not to be incompatible with Cranmer's protest, and that his avowal of his sentiments as to the mode in which it ought to be interpreted, is a proof of his candour and integrity."

Before he obtained possession of his temporalities, the new primate next took the following

[1] Tindal bitterly alludes to "popish bishops making no account of perjury, who think they have power to dispense with all things." Practice of Prelates, 1530, sign. k. 8.

[2] Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, ch. vii. 286.

[3] Soames, Hist. of the Ref. i. 371.

oath to his sovereign; [1] which for the most part had been the oath of prelates to the king on suing for their temporalities, though hardly reconcilable with the oath they had taken to the pope. For it renounces all privileges and grants of the pontiff, which might be prejudicial to the king; and admits that they held their sees *only* of the sovereign; an admission which Cranmer amplified, in his own case, into *immediately*, and *none other*.

" [2] I, Thomas Cranmer, renounce and utterly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the pope's holiness in his bulls of the archbishopric of Canterbury, that in any manner was, is, or may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, estates, or dignity royal; knowing myself to take and hold the said archbishopric immediately, and only, of your Highness, and of none other; most

[1] Strype. But it varies a little from the oath, as it is given by Burnet. One discrepancy, Mr. Soames has observed, is worthy of remark. " Cranmer admitted that he *took* and held his see only of the king. The oath in Burnet admits merely that the party *held* his preferment of the crown, and says nothing about taking it. Cardinal Pole, probably, was ignorant of this variation in the oath taken by Cranmer from that in common use; and therefore, with his characteristic intemperance, he at once charged Cranmer with being *made* archbishop by the pope, and then disowning that personage's authority immediately afterwards." Hist. Ref. i. 373.

[2] Strype, Append. No. 7.

lowly beseeching the same for restitution of the temporalities of the said archbishopric; professing to be faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said Highness, your heirs and successors, during my life. So help me God, and the Holy Evangelists.

CHAPTER IV.

1533.

The archbishop pronounces the divorce of Henry from Catharine—Crowns Anne Boleyn—Describes the coronation—Denies being at her marriage with the king—Mentions the case of Frith, the martyr—Visits his diocese—Restrains improper preaching—Detects the imposture of the Nun of Kent—Is opposed to the Romish tenet of miracles—Gives an account of the Nun's practices—Mentions the birth of Elizabeth, afterwards queen of England—Prayer at her birth by Anne Boleyn—The archbishop godfather to Elizabeth—Appeals to a General Council against the pope—Writes to the king about Pole, who is invited to the Council—Borrows money—His appeal, and that of the king, disregarded.

THE king had now resolved, without the permission of the pontiff, to accomplish his marriage with Anne Boleyn. With this measure Cranmer was [1] unacquainted till at least a fortnight after the accomplishment of it. He was not long a stranger, however, to the offence which it occasioned. Nor had the subject of the divorce yet

[1] As he presently informs us in his letter to archdeacon Hawkins.

ceased to be a matter of judicial inquiry. The members of convocation, assembled only a few days before the consecration of the archbishop, again debated what had been submitted to the Universities, to the legates, and to various individuals. Their determination in favour of the king was given on the third day after the consecration, and in the presence of the new primate. Fortified, therefore, with this solemn decision, believing the nation exposed to the evils of a disputed succession, and not regardless of the rumours against the union which his sovereign had formed, he suggested to Henry, in the following letter, that the formality of a judicial sentence for the divorce ought not to be delayed.

"[1] Please it your Highness, that where your Grace's great cause of matrimony is (as it is thought) through all Christianity divulgated, and in the mouths of the rude and ignorant common people of this your Grace's realm so talked of, that few of them do fear to report and say, that thereof is likelihood hereafter to ensue great inconvenience, danger, and peril, to this your Grace's realm, and much incertainty of succession; by which things the said ignorant people be not a little offended: And forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, and your Grace of your

[1] Original, State-Paper Office. In Cranmer's own handwriting.

abundant kindness to me shewed, to call me (albeit a poor wretch and much unworthy) unto the high and chargeable office of primate and archbishop in this your Grace's realm, wherein I beseech Almighty God to grant me His grace so to use and demean myself, as may be standing with His pleasure and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weal of this your Grace's said realm; and considering also the obloquy, and bruit, which daily doth spring and increase of the clergy of this realm, and specially of the heads and presidents of the same, because they in this behalf do not foresee, and provide, convenient remedies as might expel and put out of doubt all such inconveniences, perils, and dangers, as the said rude and ignorant people do speak, and talk to be imminent; I, your most humble orator and beadsman, am, in consideration of the premises, urgently constrained at this time most humbly to beseech your Grace, that where my office, and duty, is by you and your predecessors' sufferance and grants *to direct and order causes spiritual,* in this your Grace's realm, according to the laws of God and holy church; and for relief of all manner [of] griefs and infirmities of the people, God's subjects and your's, *happening in the same spiritual causes,* to provide such remedy as shall be thought most convenient for their help and relief in that behalf; and because I would be right loth, and also it shall not become me (forasmuch as your Grace is

my prince and sovereign) to enterprise any part of my office in the said weighty cause, without your Grace's favour obtained and pleasure therein first known; it may please the same to ascertain me of your Grace's pleasure in the premises, to the intent that, the same known, I may proceed to my discharge, afore God, to the execution of my said office and duty, according to His calling and your's: beseeching your Highness most humbly upon my knees to pardon me of these my bold and rude letters, and the same to accept and take in good sense and part. From my Manor at Lambeth, the xith day of April in the first year of my consecration, [1533.]

"Your Highness's most humble
"beadsman and chaplain,
THOMAS CANTUAR."

The answer of the king was in perfect accordance with the primate's suggestion; in which he forgot not to maintain the supremacy he had lately recovered, saying, that "[1] being your king and sovereign we do recognize no superior in earth, but only God, not being subject to the laws of any other earthly creature; yet, because you be under us, by God's calling and our's, the most principal minister of our spiritual jurisdiction within this our realm, we will not therefore refuse your humble

[1] The king's answer is given entire by Collier, Ecc. Hist. Records, ii. 15.

request." Some little delay ensued. In vain had the dignified Catharine been entreated to acquiesce in the opinions that had been pronounced against her, and to resign the rank to which she had been raised. The process was removed to Dunstable, the residence of Catharine being at Ampthill, in the neighbourhood of it. Both Henry and Catharine were now cited to appear before the archbishop and other commissioners. The king appeared by proxy; the queen not at all. She was then recorded as contumacious, and on the 23d of May the sentence of divorce was pronounced. The archbishop immediately informed his sovereign of this close to the process; and at the same time referred to the marriage of Anne Boleyn, as requiring, he seems to think, a public confirmation; which indeed a few days after, on his return to London, was made by his judicial authority, but with no reason assigned in his sentence. The letter to Henry was as follows.

"[1] Please it your Highness to be advertised, that this xxiii. day of this present month of May I have given sentence in your Grace's great and weighty cause, the copy whereof I have sent unto your Highness by this bearer, Richard Watkyns. And when I was by the letters of Thirlby, your Grace's chaplain, advertised of your Grace's pleasure that I should cause your Grace's counsel to

[1] Orig. State-Paper Office. In Cranmer's own hand-writing.

conceive a [1]procuracy concerning the second matrimony; I have sent the said letters unto them, and required them to do according to the tenor thereof; most humbly beseeching your Highness, that I may know your Grace's further pleasure concerning the same matrimony, as soon as your Grace with your counsel shall be perfectly resolved therein. For the time of the coronation is so instant and so near at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition to be had in the same. And thus our Lord have your Highness evermore in His blessed tuition and governance. From Dunstable, the xxiii. day of May, [1533.]

"Your Highness's most humble
"chaplain and beadsman,
"THOMAS CANTUAR."

The divorce having been pronounced, and the second nuptials confirmed, by the sentences of the primate, much obloquy was bestowed upon him by many Romanists, both at home and abroad. By those who were inclined to the Reformation, the substitution of Anne for Catharine, on the other hand, afforded great hope of protection and support. The coronation of Anne now followed. Of this ceremony, and of many interesting circumstances preceding it; of the marriage itself, at which he was not present; and of other false

[1] The instrument by which Henry might delegate his proctor to represent him in the cause.

reports respecting him; the archbishop's own account to his friend archdeacon [1] Hawkins has descended to us.

"[2] In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you, and even so would be right glad to hear of your welfare, &c. These be to advertise you, that inasmuch as you now and then take some pains in writing unto me, I would be loth you should think your labour utterly lost and forgotten for lack of writing again. Therefore, and because I reckon you be some deal desirous of such news as hath been here with us of late in the king's Grace's matters, I intend to inform you a part thereof according to the tenor and purport used in that behalf.

"And, first, as touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my lady Katherine and the king's Grace, which said matter after the Convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the Universities, it was thought convenient by the king and his learned counsel that I should repair unto Dunstable, which is within iiij. miles unto Ampthill, where the said lady Katherine

[1] Hawkins was now ambassador at the court of the emperor. He was archdeacon of Ely, and died in the year after this letter had been written to him.

[2] This letter has been printed in the Archæologia, vol. 18, and in Ellis's Letters illustr. of Eng. Hist. 1824, ii. 39.

keepeth her house, and there to call her before me, to hear the final sentence in this said matter. Notwithstanding she would not at all obey thereunto; for when she was by doctor Lee cited to appear by a day, she utterly refused the same, saying that inasmuch as her cause was before the pope, she would have none other judge; and therefore would not take me for her judge. Nevertheless, the viijth day of May, according to the said appointment, I came unto Dunstable, my lord of [1] Lincoln being assistant unto me; and my lord of [2] Winchester, doctor Bell, doctor Claybrooke, doctor Tregonwell, doctor Hewes, doctor Oliver, doctor Britton, Mr. Bedyll, with divers others learned in the law, being counsellors in the law for the king's part; and so there at our coming kept a court for the appearance of the said lady Katherine; where were examined certain witnesses, which testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appear; who for [de]fault of appearance was declared *contumax;* proceeding in the said cause against her in *pœnam contumaciæ,* as the law thereunto belongeth; which continued xv. days after our coming thither. And the morrow after Ascension-day I gave final sentence therein, how that it was indispensable for the pope to licence any such marriages.

" This done, and after our re-journeying home

[1] Longland, the king's confessor. [2] Stephen Gardiner.

again, the king's Highness prepared all things convenient for the coronation of the queen which also was after such a manner as followeth.

"The Thursday next before the feast of Pentecost, the king and the queen being at Greenwich, all the crafts of London thereunto well appointed, in several barges decked after the most gorgeous and sumptuous manner, with divers pageants thereunto belonging, repaired and waited all together upon the mayor of London; and so, well furnished, came all unto Greenwich, where they tarried, and waited for the queen's coming to her barge; which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, trumpets, shaums, and other divers instruments, all the way playing and making great melody, which, as is reported, was as comely done as never was like in any time nigh to our remembrance. And so her Grace came to the Tower on Thursday at night about v. of the clock, where also was such a peal of guns as hath not been heard like a great while before. And the same night, and Friday all day, the king and queen tarried there; and on Friday at night the king's Grace made xviij. knights of the Bath, whose creation was not alonely so strange to hear of, as also their garments stranger to behold or look on; which said knights the next day, which was Saturday, rid before the queen's Grace through the city of London towards Westminster palace, over and besides the most part of the

nobles of the realm, which like accompanied her Grace throughout the said city; she sitting, in her [1] hair, upon a horse-litter, richly apparelled, and four knights of the v. ports bearing a canopy over her head. And after her came iiij. rich chariots, one of them empty, and iij. other furnished with divers old ladies; and after them came a great train of other ladies and gentlewomen: which said progress, from the beginning to the ending, extended half a mile in length by estimation or thereabout. To whom also, as she came alongst the city, was shewed many costly pageants, with divers other encomies spoken of [2] children to her; wine [3] also running at certain conduits plenteously. And so proceeding throughout the streets, passed further unto Westminster Hall, where was a certain banquet prepared for her; which done, she was conveyed out of the back side of the palace into a barge, and so unto York Place, where the king's Grace was before her coming; for this you must ever pre-suppose that his Grace came always before her secretly in a barge, as well from Greenwich to the Tower as from the Tower to York Place.

[1] Wearing her hair loose. Stow, in his chronicle, thus describes her with "her hair hanging down." 952.

[2] When the procession arrived at Fenchurch-street, "there was made a pageant all of children apparelled like merchants, which welcomed her to the City, with two proper propositions both in French and English." Stow, Chron. 953.

[3] Claret and red, all the afternoon. Stow, 954.

" Now then on Sunday was the coronation, which also was of such a manner.

" In the morning there assembled with me at Westminster Church the bishop of [1] York, the bishop of [2] London, the bishop of [3] Winchester, the bishop of [4] Lincoln, the bishop of [5] Bath, and the bishop of [6] St. Asse, the abbot of Westminster with x. or xij. more abbots, which all revestured ourselves in our *pontificalibus;* and, so furnished, with our crosses and crosiers, proceeded out of the Abbey in a procession unto Westminster Hall, where we received the queen apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and gowns of scarlet, according to the manner used before time in such business. And so her Grace, sustained of each side with ij. bishops, the bishop of London and the bishop of Winchester, came forth in procession unto the church of Westminster, she in her hair, my lord of Suffolk bearing also before her a scepter and a white rod, and so entered up into the high altar, where, divers ceremonies used about her, I

[1] Lee. [2] Stokesley. [3] Gardiner.

[4] Longland. [5] Clerk.

[6] Standish. It was usual at this time to abbreviate St. *Asaph* into St. *Asse*. Thus Hall, in his chronicle, writes "Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asse." Cranmer, therefore, hardly meant to ridicule him, (though as a person of great ignorance Standish might deserve to be ridiculed,) in the manner that Erasmus has, by calling him " episcopum *a sancto asino!*" See Jortin, ii. 154.

did set the crown on her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*, &c. And after that was sung a solemn mass; all which while her Grace sat crowned upon a scaffold, which was made between the high altar and the choir in Westminster Church: which mass and ceremonies done and finished, all the assembly of noblemen brought her into Westminster Hall again, where was kept a great solemn feast all that day; the good order thereof were long to write at this time to you. But now, Sir, you may not imagine that this coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about [1] St. Paul's day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child. Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm, that [2] I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. *And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales.*

[1] "King Henry privily married the lady Anne Boleyn in his closet at Whitehall, on the five and twentieth day of January, being St. Paul's day. Mistress Anne Savage bore up queen Anne's train." Stow, Chron. 947. Others have inaccurately stated the marriage to have been in the preceding November.

[2] Lord Herbert has untruly said that Cranmer was present at the marriage. Others have been led into the same error. In our own time, Dr. Milner, of the Church of Rome, has adopted the mistake, exhibiting Cranmer as "standing witness to the monarch's nuptials." Strictures on Southey, 58.

"Other news have we none notable, but that one Frith, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the king's Grace to be examined before me, my lord of London, my lord of Winchester, my lord of Suffolk, my lord chancellor, and my lord of Wiltshire; whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not dispatch him, but were fain to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, which is the bishop of London. His said opinion is of such nature, that he thought it not necessary to be believed, as an article of our faith, that there is the very [1] corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Oecolampadius. And surely I myself sent for him iij. or iiij. times to persuade him to leave that his imagination; but for all that we could do therein he would not apply to any counsel, notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations; for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular powers, where he looketh every day to go unto the fire. And there

[1] The arguments of Frith against the corporal presence are given at length by Burnet, i. 167. Frith was desired to write fully his opinions upon the subject, which came into the hands of Sir Thomas More, who treated them with great contempt. They came also into the hands of Cranmer, who afterwards acknowledged, when he wrote against transubstantiation in reply to Gardiner, that he had received great light from them, and drew most of his arguments out of them. Frith was the first of the reformers who impugned the Romish tenet.

is also condemned with him one [1] Andrew, a tailor of London, for the said self-same opinion. And thus fare you well. From my Manor of Croydon, the xvij. day of June, [1533.]"

We now follow the new primate to the superintendence of his diocese. His clergy were a body divided against itself. Among them were advocates no less strenuous than himself for the new learning, or the dissemination of religious knowledge in particular; as there were others equally solicitous to uphold an acquiescence in the old, or the darkness and delusion that had long prevailed. But at this time the discourses of too many of them consisted in discussing the legality of Anne Boleyn's marriage and the divorce of Catharine. A direction that preaching should be restrained, only till some salutary regulations were enacted, was accordingly issued by the archbishop.

However pitiable the case of Catharine was, however admirable her character, it is evident that great pains had been taken by her adherents to excite the popular clamour against her rival Anne. Hence, in the old chronicle of Hall, it is said, that "they who knew not the law of God sore murmured at the matter [of the intended divorce,] and much the more, because there was

[1] Andrew Hewet, who honoured Frith, and resolved to die with him. Foxe.

a gentlewoman in the court, called Anne Boleyn, whom the king much favoured in all honesty, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after: For this cause the queen's ladies, gentlewomen, and servants, largely spake, and said that she so enticed the king, that only for her sake he would be divorced from this queen: This was the foolish communication of the people, contrary to the truth." But priests were the loudest in insulting the successor to the throne of Catharine. "[1] As for Nan Bullen," said many of them, "who the devil made her queen?" Their opposition, however, was not confined to gross and indecorous language, but at length was displayed in the preposterous delusion, well-known as the story of the *Nun of Kent*. The detection of this cheat was the beneficial effect of the archbishop's present visit to his diocese. Often and largely as the story has been [2]told, I should have thought it unnecessary to make further mention of it, if the archbishop himself had not detailed to a friend all the circumstances of the fraud, in a manner which shews how he was

[1] There is an abundance of queries, more scandalous than the above, in a letter from lord Derby and sir H. Faryngton to the king, preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, and printed by Ellis, Orig. Lett. 1824, ii. 42, seq.

[2] Foxe, Stow, Burnet, Strype, and Godwin, fully detail it. Some of the biographers of sir Thomas More, and he who wrote the life of bishop Fisher, speak of it with reserve or palliation. In our own time Dr. Lingard softens her sad story, Mr. Turner duly exposes it.

already opposed to the credence of Romish miracles; and therefore that instead of professing publicly the Roman catholic religion, the article of the pope's supremacy *alone* excepted, (as Mr. [1] Butler would wish the people of England to believe,) during the whole reign of Henry, he now at once asserts his freedom from a leading tenet of that religion. His narrative is sufficiently sarcastic. It is a fine contrast to the absurd conduct of those distinguished members of the Church of Rome, archbishop Warham, Sir Thomas More, and bishop Fisher; the first of whom reposed with confidence on the visions of the pretended holy maid, the second was strongly suspected of encouraging this ventriloquist, (for such she appears to have been by the letter of the archbishop,) and the third died with little doubt that her prophecies would be fulfilled. The archbishop's letter is again to his friend Hawkins. It adds, to the account of the imposture, other news of the time; in particular, the honour to which the archbishop was called of being godfather to the first-born of Anne Boleyn, our renowned Elizabeth.

" [2] Mr. Archdeacon,

" In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. These be to ascertain you of such

[1] Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 1825, p. 216.

[2] Harleian MSS. No. 6148. And Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 1045, fol. 71. The former is the older copy.

news as be here now in fame among us in England. And first you shall understand, that at Canterbury, within my diocese, about eight years past there was wrought a great miracle upon a [1] maid by the power of God, and our lady of [2] Curtupstreet! By reason of the which miracle there is stablished a great pilgrimage. And ever since many devout people have [made] suit to the foresaid lady of Curtupstreet.

"The miracle was this.

"The maid was taken with a grievous and continual sickness. And, during her said sickness, she had divers and many trances; speaking of many high and godly things; telling also wondrously, by the power of the Holy Ghost, as it was thought, things said and done in other places, where as neither she was herself, nor yet heard no report thereof. She had also in her trances many strange visions and revelations, as of heaven, hell, and purgatory, and of the state of certain souls departed. And, among all other visions, one was, that she should be conveyed to our lady of Curtupstreet, where she was promised to be healed of her sickness, and that Almighty God should work wonders in her. And when she was brought thither, and laid before the image of our lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her

[1] Her name was Elizabeth Barton.

[2] Court-at-street, in the parish of Aldington, Kent.

tongue hanging out, and her eyes being in a manner plucked out, and laid upon her cheeks; and so greatly disordered. Then was there a voice heard speaking within her belly, [1] *as it had been in a tun, her lips not greatly moving;* she all that while continuing by the space of three hours or more in a trance. The which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly, that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly, that it put the hearers in a great fear. It spake also many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses, and confessions, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished, and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print; which, ever since that time, hath been commonly sold and gone abroad among all people.

"After this miracle done, she had a commandment from God in a vision, as she said, to profess herself a nun. And so she was professed; and hath so continued in a nunnery at Canterbury, called St. Sepulchre's, ever since. And then she chose a [2] monk of Christ's Church, a doctor in

[1] Evidently the exertion of a ventriloquist.

[2] Bocking, who was one of those who suffered with the Nun

divinity, to be [her] ghostly father, whose counsel she hath used, and evermore followed in all her doings; and evermore since, from time to time, hath had, almost every week or at the furthest every fortnight, new visions and revelations. And she hath oftentimes trances and [1] rapts; by reason whereof, and also by reason of the great perfectness that was thought to be in her, divers and many great men of the realm, as [well as] mean men, and learned men, but especially divers and many religious men, had great confidence in her, and often resorted unto her, and communed with her; to the intent that they might by her know the will of God, and chiefly concerning the king's marriage, the great heresies and schisms within the realm, and the taking away the liberties of the Church. For in these three points stand the great number of her visions, which were so many, that her ghostly father could scarce write them in three or four quires of paper.

"And surely, I think, she did marvellously stop the going forward of the king's marriage by the reason of her visions, which, she said, were of God; persuading them that came to see her, how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance Almighty God would take upon all the favourers thereof: in so much that she wrote letters

for this miserable conspiracy; and whose connexion with her besides is represented as most disgraceful.

[1] An old word, meaning much the same as a trance or fit.

to the pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God, which then hanged ready over his head, if he did the contrary. She had also communication with my lord cardinal, and with my lord of Canterbury, in the matter. And, in mine opinion, with her feigned visions, and godly threatenings, she stayed them very much in the matter.

"She had also secret knowledge of divers other things; and then she feigned that she had knowledge thereof from God: insomuch that she conceived letters, and sent them forth, making divers people believe, that the letters were written in heaven, and sent from thence to earthly creatures.

"Now about Midsummer last I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid to examine her. And from me she was had to Mr. Cromwell, to be further examined there. And now she confessed all, and uttered the very truth; which is this: That she never had vision in all her life, but all that ever she said was feigned of her own imagination only, to satisfy the minds of them which resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise. By reason of which her confessions, many and divers both religious men and others be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition, and also treason; and

would not utter it, but rather further the same by their power.

"She said, the king should not continue king a month after that he were married; as, within six months after, God would strike the realm with such a plague as never was seen; and then the king should be destroyed. She took upon her also to shew the condition and state of souls departed; as of my lord cardinal, and of my late lord of Canterbury, and divers others.

"To shew the whole story of all the matter, it were too long to write in two or three letters. You shall know further thereof at your coming home.

"As touching the bishoprics that be void, you shall understand that Dr. Salcot, the abbot of Hyde, is elect bishop of Bangor; Dr. Lee, the lawyer, is elect bishop of Chester. There is as yet none elected bishop of Ely. You shall know, at your coming home, [1] who shall be.

"The Parliament is not holden this term, but is prorogued to the 15th day of January. The queen's Grace was brought to bed, [2] about the

[1] Meaning perhaps Hawkins himself, who died, however, in 1534, and Goodrich, after the see had been vacant nearly a year, was elected bishop of it in March, 1534.

[2] It was the 7th day of September, on which Elizabeth was born. There is an order by the queen herself for thanksgiving upon the occasion, preserved in the Harl. MSS. No. 787. 1, which confirms this date. "By the queen. Trusty and well-

13th or 14th day of September, of a princess. I myself was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and my lady marchioness of Dorchester were godmothers. The duke of Richmond hath married my lady Mary, the duke of Norfolk's daughter. From Lambeth. the xx. of Decemb. Ann. 25. Reg. [viz. 1533,]"

The king and the archbishop had now resolved upon an appeal, against the pope, to a General Council, which was soon expected to be held. Clement had already declared the divorce to be null, and added the threat of excom-

beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it hath pleased the goodness of Almighty God of His infinite mercy and grace to send unto us at this tyme good-speed in the deliverance and bringing forth of a princess to the greate joye and inward comfort of my lord, us, and of all his good and lovinge subjectes of this his realm; for the which His inestimable benevolence, soe shewed unto us, we have no little cause to give high thankes, laude, and praysing, unto our said Maker, like as we doe most lowly, humbly, and with all the inward desire of our heart: And inasmuch as we undoubtedly trust that this our good-speed is to your great pleasure, comfort, and consolacion, we therefore by these our letters advertise you thereof, desiring and heartily praying you to give with us unto Almighty God high thanks, glory, laude, and praising; and to pray for the good health, prosperity, and continuall preservacion of the said princesse accordingly. Given under our signet at my lord's manor of Greenwich the 7th day of September in the 25th yeare of my said lord's reigne, A.D. 1533." Stow also records the birth of Elizabeth on this day. Chron. 959.

munication, if whatever had been done in that business against Catharine was not revoked. It is probable too that he looked for co-operation, in this continued opposition to Henry, from Pole, who was now in Italy; of whom the archbishop was at this time informed by his agent in that country, that he was to be present at the Council; a circumstance not to be regarded without suspicion. Opposed as he had been to the king, and now about to be promoted by the pontiff, he would certainly lend himself to the views of the latter. The archbishop seems to have apprehended this, and to have accordingly thus addressed his sovereign.

"[1] Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised, that I have received news out of Rome from one named John Bianket, a Bononois born, some time my servant, and now servant to the cardinal which was late bishop of Worcester, and more privy with him of all secrets than any others about him. And among other things he thus writeth,—

'The pope hath called hither many prelates for matters concerning the Council, among whom is Mr. Reynold Pole made much of, and much set by and received of the pope himself very gladly.

[1] Harl. MSS. No. 787, fol. 18. And Lansdowne MSS. No. 1045. p. 66. Not so correct in the latter as the former. It is printed in Ellis's second series of Orig. Lett. ii. 66.

And because the saying is, that the king had sent for him home into England, and desired him, and promised him also great things, if he would come, or at the least if he would not go to Rome; he now is come hither, not regarding the king's desire, promise, nor threats. And here men do esteem and think surely that the pope will make him cardinal; and now hath he given him lodgings for himself within his palace, and will have him near him. And, among these great men that be here for this matter, the self-same Reynold Pole is here truly most esteemed, and most set by of all. And doubtless they be all singular fellows, and such as ever absented themselves from the Court, desiring to live holily; as the bishop of Verona, the bishop of Chiete, the archbishop of Salerne, the bishop of Carpentras, otherwise called Sadoletus, and many other that now be here for to consult these matters of the Council; the which I cannot see how it can go forward as long as the matters of war, kindled between the princes, are unquenched; without whom it is like that it cannot go forward. Nevertheless, there be sent messengers to intimate the Council through Christendom, leaving you apart, to whom they will intimate it there in writing and in citations. Friar Denis, which wrote on the king's side, being now general of the religion, cometh as ambassador from the pope towards the king of Scots. The emperor is now

in Genoa; and many princes, specially the duke of Florence, go to see him, and to shew themselves glad that he is arrived there safe and in good health, which chanced but to a few gentlemen, which be almost all sick. There is entreaty made for peace all that may be, and it seemeth that the Frenchmen have good hope therein, for they have left off war, and have no more men in Italy now but Guido Rangone's men, and those of Turin, which as yet they hold with certain other castles. And the pope is fervent and hot in entreating of this peace.'—

"Here have I written the very words of the letter, as I did translate them out of Italian into English, as near as I could word for word; which I can do no less than signify unto your Highness, forasmuch as there be some things concerning the General Council and Mr. Reynold Pole, whereof I thought it my duty to give notice unto your Grace. And thus I beseech the mighty Lord of lords to strengthen and preserve your Grace ever, and to resist and suppress all your Highness's adversaries with your rebels and untrue subjects. At Knowle, the 18th day of November, [1533,]

"Your Grace's most humble

"chaplain and beadsman,

"T. CANTUARIEN."

Few days were past after this letter had been sent to his sovereign, when the archbishop ap-

pears to have been in want of means to support his high station, and to have had recourse to the kindness of his friends. Through Cromwell, who was now secretary of state, (from whom he conceals not his obligations apparently of the same kind to others,) he had solicited from the Crown a loan of money. His application appears by the following acknowledgment to have been successful.

"[1] Right worshipful Master Cromwell, in my right hearty manner I commend me unto you. So it is that I lately received certain letters from my friend doctor [2] Goderich, by whom I do perceive that you have not only spoken to the king's Highness for the loan of a thousand marks to my use, (whose pleasure is, as the same Master Goderich writeth, that I shall receive of you, at this time, five hundred pounds and no more,) but also have [3] practised with my lord of Wiltshire, and

[1] Original MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[2] Dr. Goodrich, or Goderich, was fellow of Jesus Coll. Camb. at the same time with Cranmer. They proceeded together in 1510 and 1514, to their degrees in arts. Goderich was on the side of the king in the Cambridge decision. He was soon afterwards appointed chaplain to Henry, by whom he was promoted to the see of Ely, in March, 1533-4. He was often joined in important proceedings with Cranmer. Under him, says Strype, the Reformation succeeded well. See also Masters, Hist C.C.C. Camb. 296.

[3] Negociated.

others, which at this time do claim many duties of me; for which your kindness I do heartily thank you; praying you to cause the same five hundred pounds to be delivered to my secretary, Thomas Berthelet, this bearer, which shall deliver unto you an obligation for the payment thereof at such day as is expressed in the same.—From Otford, the xxvjth day of November, [1533.] Your own assured,

"THOMAS CANTUAR."

It was on the [1] following day that he transmitted his own appeal to the General Council, which, as well as that of his sovereign, the pontiff disregarded. Both were presented, though not at the same time, by Bonner, then the king's agent, and afterwards the noted bishop of London. To him the pontiff signified at Marseilles that the appeal of Henry was unlawful. The subsequent presentation of Cranmer's in a peremptory and offensive manner occasioned a threat from Clement, that he would throw the rude ambassador into a cauldron of melted lead, who therefore made a precipitate retreat from the scene of his insolence. But at this time [2] other ambassadors had been sent to Marseilles, apparently under a hope of reconciliation with the pontiff, between whom and the French king there was then a meeting at that

[1] Strype.

[2] Sir F. Brian and Stephen Gardiner. Burnet.

place, when the interference of Francis was friendly, and terms of adjustment are believed to have been proposed. For, at his return to Paris, Francis sent Bellay, bishop of that diocese, to England, in order to forward the negociation. In this object the French prelate was led to think that he had succeeded. His next was, to hasten with the intelligence of it to Rome. There the violence of the cardinals, devoted to the emperor, destroyed all that had been expected from this fresh address to Clement, whom they finally led both to rescind the sentence of Cranmer, and to confirm the marriage of Henry with Catharine. But had the pontiff given a sentence in favour of the king, it would have been of no service to the dominion that was now expiring in this country. Bellay had no sooner left England, than the party which sided with Cranmer, resolved to be independent of the see of Rome. Whether Henry himself was sincere in permitting the French prelate to negociate, it matters not. The parliament [1] now soon assembled, and the ensuing year opened with proceedings which at once severed the nation from its disgraceful thraldom; " [2] England for

[1] January 15, 1533-4.

[2] Dr. Jackson's works, fol. ed. 1673, iii. 949. Of this sound and vigilant divine, the beloved and honoured president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and dean of Peterborough, let me add what was said by the pious and learned Barnabas Oley: " I bless God for the confirmation which Dr. Jackson

that blind and slavish obedience, which in respect of other nations she performed to the see of Rome, having been by Italians and other foreigners not unfitly termed *the pope's ass.*"

bath given me in the Christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian; and in the Protestant, against Rome." Pref. to Dr. Jackson's works. He died in 1640. His three volumes are an invaluable treasure both of argumentative and practical discourses.

CHAPTER V.

1534 to 1535.

Acts of Parliament abolishing the papal supremacy—The archbishop a principal framer of them—Declarations of public bodies to the same purpose—Beneficial consequences to the nation—Oaths to maintain the Act respecting the succession to the Crown required—Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher refuse to take the oaths—The archbishop proposes to Cromwell a measure in their behalf—He intercedes for pardon from the king to the Convent at Canterbury in which were some of the friars concerned in the delusion of the Nun of Kent—Sends to Cromwell some who had slandered the king and queen—The king's proclamation for preaching the true Word of God, and against the see of Rome—The archbishop obeys it, and impugns the Romish doctrine of remission of sins—A prior preaches against him—The archbishop writes to the king—Suffragan bishops continued—Speech of the archbishop, referring to the late Acts—Recommends a new version of the Bible for the use of the common people—Anecdotes to the same purpose of bishop Bedell and Fulgentio—The Primer.

THE importance of the laws that now were passed illustrates the vigilance and acuteness of the archbishop, in order to the entire abolition of the power and profits of the pontiff. In the formation of all

the Bills, before they were constituted Acts, and in obviating objections to them, he was the [1] leader. The month of March, in 1534, accordingly thus witnessed the public prohibitions of all bulls, provisions, and dispensations from the see of Rome, and of all payments hitherto made to it. It thus witnessed a mitigation of the law for punishing heretics; an acknowledgment from the clergy also that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only, together with their promise that they would enact no new canons or constitutions without the royal assent, and with their request that under the direction of [2] thirty-two commissioners to be appointed by the king the canon law might be revised. Another of these laws directed the election of bishops to be made by licence from the sovereign. But the most important of them all was that which respected the succession to the Crown, and the confirmation of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. This

[1] Strype. And Melchior Adam, Vit. Cranm. ed. 1618. p. 4. "Incumbente enim in ipsius potissimùm humeros universa negocii mole, *solus omnes omnium pontificiorum objectiones excepit, retudit, profligavit, &c.*" The biographer is describing the present proceedings in parliament.

[2] Under the superintendence of Cranmer this work was begun in the reign of Henry, and revived in that of Edward, when the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was compiled, which Foxe, the martyrologist, first published in 1571. This work, however, never received a royal confirmation. But it will again solicit our notice.

statute required of all persons an oath to maintain the provisions of it: And any who should utter slander against the king, the queen, or their issue, was to suffer imprisonment with forfeiture of goods. On the last day of March the convocation solemnly assented to what the parliament had proclaimed, in giving a negative reply to the question proposed by the archbishop, *Whether the bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop.* The declarations and subscriptions of the bishops and chapters, of the two Universities, and of the monastic bodies, were the next public instruments that renounced the usurpation to which obedience had long been paid. And now, "[1] as soon as Henry disclaimed the supremacy of the see, and broke off all connection with the papal court, considerable sums," it has been powerfully observed, "were saved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained by remittances to Rome for dispensations and indulgences, by the expence of pilgrimages into foreign countries, or by the payment of annates, first-fruits, and a thousand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The exercise of a jurisdiction different from that of the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent of it, but superior to

[1] Robertson, Charles V.

it, a wild solecism in government, apt not only to perplex and disquiet weak minds, but tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple as well as more respectable, when no rank or character exempted any person from being amenable to the same courts as other subjects, and from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws."

On the 13th of April commissioners assembled at Lambeth, to tender the oath respecting the royal succession to those who resided in and near London. Thither on that day were the venerable bishop Fisher and the learned Sir Thomas More conducted from their durance in the Tower. Their melancholy and much to be lamented end soon followed. Both refused the oath. The objections of Sir Thomas were mildly required. The archbishop honoured him, and was desirous to save him from the danger that threatened him. His interposition too was alike humane and judicious for the aged prelate of Rochester. But having failed in friendly conversation with Sir Thomas to make him swerve from his purpose, who yet acknowledged himself to be rather shaken in it by the arguments "of so noble a prelate," the archbishop thus addressed his friend Cromwell in behalf of both the prisoners.

[1] Sir Thomas's letter to his daughter Margaret, in his own Works, and copied by Foxe.

" [1] After my most hearty commendations, &c. I doubt not but you do right well remember that my lord of Rochester and master More were contented to be sworn to the Act of the king's succession, but not to the preamble of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof, I am uncertain; and they would by no means express the same. Nevertheless it must needs be either the diminution of the authority of the bishop of Rome, or else the reprobation of the king's first pretensed matrimony. But if they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet meseemeth it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very Act of succession, so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates. For hereby shall be a great occasion to satisfy the princess dowager and the lady Mary, which do think that they should damn their souls, if they should abandon and relinquish their estates. And not only it should stop the mouths of them, but also of the emperor, and other their friends, if they give as much credence to my lord of Rochester and master More, speaking and doing against them, as they hitherto have done, and thought that all other should have done, when they spake and did with them. And peradventure it should be a good quietation to many other within this realm, if such men should say that the

[1] Strype, Append. No. xi.

succession, comprised within the said Act, is good and according to God's Laws. For then, I think, there is not one within this realm that would reclaim against it.

"And whereas divers persons either of a wilfulness will not, or of an indurate and invertible consequence can not, alter from their opinions of the king's first pretensed marriage, (wherein they have once said their minds, and percase have a persuasion in their heads, that, if they should now vary therefrom, their fame and estimation were distained for ever,) or else of the authority of the bishop of Rome; yet if all the said realm with one accord would apprehend the succession, in my judgment it is a thing to be amplected and embraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God, that it shall be brought to pass, yet hereunto might not a little avail the consent and oaths of these two persons, the bishop of Rochester, and master More, with their adherents, or rather their confederates. And if the king's pleasure so were, their said oaths might be suppressed, but when and where his Highness might take some commodity by the publishing of the same.

"Thus our Lord have you ever in His conservation. From my Manor of Croydon, the xvijth day of April, [1534.]

"Your own assured ever,

"THOMAS CANTUAR."

That benevolence of disposition, which so distinguished Cranmer, was also exercised about this time, in entreating the king "[1] to pardon the convent at Canterbury, wherein some of the friars had been concerned with the false Nun of Canterbury." He had been very desirous, in the preceding January, to obtain possession of a book written "[2] in defence of the Nun's revelations" by Dering, one of those friars, who suffered with the Nun; and he wrote to Cromwell, requesting him to use every endeavour for obtaining the original composition, of which he sent him a copy that had been delivered to him, but which he suspected to be untrue. His attention was soon afterwards called to others, who could not refrain from the especial slander, which the Act for the succession had forbidden. "[3] I send unto you," so he writes to Cromwell on the 7th of June, "as well the priest which, in reading of the Act concerning the xth part of the spirituality, bid avengeance on the king and all those that assented to the making of that Act; as also the woman which said, that since this new queen was made, there never was so much pilling and polling in this realm, asking avengeance also upon her."

[1] Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 1045. fol. 57. b.

[2] Orig. Lett. to Cromwell, Chapter-House at Westminster.

[3] Orig. Lett. to Cromwell, Chapter-House at Westminster, dated June 7, [1534.]

The king now issued a [1] proclamation, inciting the zeal of the bishops and clergy. It is dated June 9, 1534, and directs that "the true, mere, and sincere Word of God" should be preached in the churches; that the name of the bishop of Rome should be erased out of all liturgical books; that on every Sunday and holiday the people should be taught that the "title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head" appertained only to the king; and that the sheriffs of counties should be careful to notice, and report to the privy council, any coldness or inattention to these commands, whether by priest or prelate. The strict obedience of Cranmer was [2] soon testified, not with-

[1] Wilkins, Concil. iii. 772. An order was also published for the bidding prayers and preaching, but how soon, Burnet says, it does not appear to him, questioning the date of June, 1534, given to the order by Strype, and therefore placing the original direction in his Appendix with the date of 1535. Records, iii. b. ii. No. 29.

[2] "Cranmer, as the first in dignity, *gave the example to his brethren*, and zealously inculcated from the pulpit what his learning or fanaticism had lately discovered, that the pontiff was the antichrist of the Apocalypse. Poli Ep. i. p. 444." Dr. Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. i. 283. That the accomplished members of the Church of Rome, cardinal Pole and doctor Lingard, should venture to speak of Cranmer as a fanatic, is no more than might be expected from them, when we consider the strength of the present letter. Strype gives the date of 1535 to this letter; others, incorrectly, to 1534. But in 1534 Cranmer had been thus preaching in West Kent.

out his availing himself of the opportunity to aim another blow at one of the principal doctrines of the Romish Church. His sovereign, [1] with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of that church as fiercely as he attacked its jurisdiction. The primate of his realm now fearlessly arrayed himself against the papal tenet which [2] maintains remission of sins upon other terms than God has prescribed, and denies it upon those which Christianity proposes. His influence over Henry was at this time certainly great, and therefore no royal resentment followed. We will hear the archbishop himself in 1535. Referring to the king's proclamation, "[3] commanding all the prelates of your Grace's realm, that they, with all acceleration and expedition, should do their diligence, every one in his diocese, fully to persuade your people of the bishop of Rome's authority that it is but a false and injust usurpation, and that your Grace of very right and by God's law is the supreme head of this Church of England, next immediately unto God; I," he says, "to accomplish your Grace's commandment, incontinent upon my return from Winchester, (knowing that all the country about Otford and Knowle, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those matters already,) came up into these parts

[1] Robertson, Charles V.

[2] Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy.

[3] Strype, Append. No. xiii.

of East Kent only, by preaching to persuade the people in the said two articles; and in mine own church at Canterbury, because I was informed that that town in those two points was least persuaded of all my diocese, I preached there two sermons myself. And, as it then chanced, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, being then your Grace's visitor; of whom, if it so please your Grace, you may hear the report [of] what I preached.

"The scope and effect of both my sermons stood in three things. First, I declared that the bishop of Rome was not God's vicar in earth, as he was taken. And although it is so taught these three or four hundred years, yet it is done by means of the bishop of Rome, who compelled men by oaths so to teach, to the maintenance of his authority, contrary to God's Word. And here I declared by what means and craft the bishop of Rome obtained such usurped authority. Second, because the see of Rome was called *sancta sedes Romana*, and the bishop was called *sanctissimus papa*, and men's consciences peradventure could not be quiet to be separated from so holy a place, and from God's most holy vicar; I shewed the people, that this thing ought nothing to move them, for it was but a holiness in name. For indeed there was no such holiness at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to declare his glory and the pomp of Rome, the covetousness, the unchaste

living, and the maintenance of all vices. Third, I spake against the bishop of Rome's laws; which he called *divinas leges* and *sacros canones*, and makes them equal with God's Law. And here I declared, that many of the laws were very contrary, and some of them, which were good and laudable, yet they were not of such holiness as he would make them, that is, to be taken as God's Laws, or *to have remission of sins by observing them.* And here I said, that so many of his laws as were good, men ought not to contemn or despise them, and wilfully to break them. For those that be good your Grace hath received as laws of your realm, until such time as others should be made; and therefore, as laws of your realm, they must be observed, and not contemned. And here I spake as well of the ceremonies of the Church, as of the foresaid laws; that they ought neither to be rejected or despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion that they of themselves make men holy, or *that they remit sins.* For, *seeing that our sins be remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ Jesus, I said it was too much injury to Christ, to impute the remission of our sins to any laws or ceremonies of man's making.* Now the laws and ceremonies of the Church, at their first making, were ordained for that intent. But as the common laws of your Grace's realm be not made to remit sins, nor no man doth observe them to that intent, but for a common commodity, and for a good

order and quietness to be observed among your subjects; even so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church for a good order, and for remembrances of many good things, *but not for remission of our sins.* And though it be good to observe them well for that intent they were first ordained; yet it is not good, but a contumely unto Christ, to observe them with this opinion *that they remit sins, or that the very bare observation of them in itself is a holiness before God;* although they be remembrances of many holy things, or a disposition unto goodness. And even so do the laws of your Grace's realm dispose men unto justice, unto peace, and other true and perfect holiness. Wherefore I did conclude for a general rule, that the people ought to observe them, as they do the laws of your Grace's realm, and with *no more opinion of holiness or remission of sin* than the other common laws of your Grace's realm.

"Though my two sermons were long, yet I have written briefly unto your Highness the sum of them both. And I was informed by sundry reports, that the people were glad that they heard so much as they did; until such time as the Prior[1] of the Black Friars at Canterbury preached

[1] Another prior of the Black Friars appears to have given offence to the vigilant archbishop; "one friar Oliver," promoted about this time, as he writes to Cromwell, to be "prior of the Black Friars in Cambridge, who is not only a man of very small

a sermon as it was thought, and reported, clear contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before. For as touching the first part, which I had preached against the erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome's power; which error was, that by God's Law he should be God's vicar here in earth; the Prior would not name the bishop of Rome, but under colour spake generally, that the Church of Christ never erred. And as touching the second part, where I spake of the vices of the bishops of Rome; thereto the Prior said, that he would not slander the bishops of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew no vices by none of the bishops of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preached uncharitably when I said that, these many years, I had daily prayed unto God that I might see the power of Rome destroyed, and that I thanked God that I had now seen it in this realm.

learning, sinister behaviour, ill qualities, and of suspected conversation of living, as by the letters of divers well-learned personages of the said University I have been credibly informed; but is also the very same man which of all other most indiscreetly preached against the king's Grace's great cause, and most defended the authority of the bishop of Rome, and of all men most unapt to bear any rule in so noble a University.—I pray you that he may be amoved, and that doctor Hilsey, or some other worshipful man, may have it.—There be in the same House of the Black Friars men of good study, learning, and judgment; and pity it is but that they should have such a head and ruler, as is of like qualities." Orig. MS. Lett. Chapter-House at Westminster.

And yet in my sermon I declared the cause wherefore I so prayed. For I said, that I perceived the see of Rome work so many things contrary to God's honour, and the wealth of this realm; and I saw no hope of amendment, so long as that see reigned over us; and for this cause only I had prayed unto God continually, that we might be separated from that see; and for no private malice or displeasure that I had either to the bishop or see of Rome. But this seemed an uncharitable prayer to the Prior, that the power of Rome should be destroyed. And as for the third part, where I preached against the laws of the bishop of Rome, that they ought not to be taken as God's Laws, nor to be esteemed so highly as he would have them; the Prior, craftily leaving out the name of the bishop of Rome, preached, that the laws of the Church be equal with God's Laws. These things he preached, as it is proved both by sufficient witness, and also by his own confession.

"I leave the judgment hereof unto your Grace, and to your Council, whether this were a defence of the bishop of Rome or not. And I only, according to my bounden duty, have reported the truth of the fact. But, in mine opinion, if he had spoken nothing else, yet whosoëver saith, that the Church never erred, maintaineth the bishop of Rome's power. For if that were not erroneous, that was taught of his power, That he is Christ's

vicar in earth, and by God's Law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal, and that all people must believe that *de necessitate salutis;* and that whosoever doth any thing against the see of Rome is a heretic; and *that he hath authority also in purgatory; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith;* —if these things were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, then must needs your Grace's laws be erroneous that pronounce the bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's Law than other bishops, and them to be traitors that defend the contrary. This is certain, that whosoever saith, that the Church never erred, must either deny that the Church ever taught any such errors of the bishop of Rome's power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter these three or four hundred years do testify; or else they must say, that the said errors be none errors, but truths. And then it is both treason and heresy.

"At my first examination of him, which was before Christmas, he said that he preached not against me, nor that I had preached any thing amiss. But now he saith that I preached amiss in very many things, and that he purposely preached against me. And this he reporteth openly. By which words I am marvellously slandered in these parts. And for this cause I beseech your Grace

that I may not have the judgment of the cause, forasmuch as he taketh me for a party; but that your Grace would commit the hearing thereof unto my lord Privy Seal, or else to associate unto me some other persons at your Grace's pleasure, that we may hear the case jointly together.

"If this man, who hath so highly offended your Grace, and preached against me openly, being ordinary and metropolitan of this province; and that, in such matters as concern the misliving and the laws of the bishop of Rome; and that, also, within mine own Church; if he, I say, be not looked upon, I leave unto your Grace's prudence to expend what example this may be unto others with like colour to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority; and also of what estimation I shall be reputed hereafter, and what credence shall be given unto my preaching, whatsoever I shall say hereafter.

"I beseech your Grace to pardon me of my long and tedious writing; for I could not otherwise set the matter forth plain. And I most heartily thank your Grace for the stag which your Grace sent unto me from Windsor forest; which if your Grace knew for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many ways it did me service, I am sure you would think it much the better bestowed. Thus our Lord have your Highness always in His preservation and

governance. From Ford, the xxvj. day of August, [1535.]

" Your Grace's most humble
" chaplain and beadsman,
" T. CANTUARIEN.

Of the preceding occurrence no further account has come down to us.

The parliament which had adjourned, after their eminent and invaluable labours in March, 1534, again met on the 3d of November following. The regal supremacy was then again asserted, and the privileges and jurisdiction of the highest ecclesiastical authority, together with the first-fruits of benefices, were declared to belong to the king. The continuance of suffragan bishops in this country, was the provision of another statute to which the archbishop not long afterwards conformed, in consecrating an auxiliary, with the title of suffragan of Dover.

Burnet has preserved the heads of a long and able speech delivered by the archbishop, as it should seem, in the house of lords, evidently referring to some of the important Acts that had lately passed. It was perhaps about this time spoken. The historian copied what he has selected from the papers of one of the archbishop's secretaries, which he describes to have been among the [1] *Stillingfleet Manuscripts*; but which

[1] Two volumes, known by this name, are among the Lambeth

is now perhaps to be recorded among the many lost papers of the archbishop.

The preamble tauntingly observes, "that as rich men, flying from their enemies, carry away all they can with them; and what they cannot take away, they either hide or destroy it; so the court of Rome had destroyed so many ancient writings, and hid the rest, having carefully preserved every thing that was of advantage to them, that it was not easy to discover what they had so artificially concealed. Therefore in the Canon Law some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislaid, that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are to be met with in other chapters where one would least look for them. And many more things, said by the ancients of the see of Rome and against their authority, were lost, as appears by the fragments yet remaining.

"The archbishop then shewed that many of the ancients called every thing, which they thought well done, *of divine institution*, by a large extent of the phrase; in which sense the passages of many Fathers that magnified the see of Rome were to be understood.

"Then he shewed for what end General Councils were called;—to declare the faith, and reform errors. Not that ever any Council was truly general, for even at Nice there were no bishops almost but out of Egypt, Asia, and Greece. But

MSS. See the account of Cranmer's works, &c. in the last chapter of this Life of him.

they were called general, because the emperor summoned them, and all Christendom did agree to their definitions; which he proved by several authorities. Therefore, though there were many more bishops in the Council of Arimini than at Nice, or Constantinople, yet the one was not received as a General Council, and the others were, so that it was not the number nor authority of the bishops, but the matter of their decisions, which made them be received with so general a submission.

"As for the head of the Council. St. Peter and St. James had the chief direction of the Council of the Apostles; but there were no contests then about headships. Christ named no head, which could be no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, who had named no head to govern the world. Yet the Church found it convenient to have one over them. So archbishops were set over provinces. And though St. Peter had been head of the Apostles, yet as it is not certain that he ever was at Rome, so it does not appear that he had his headship for Rome's sake, or that he left it there. But he was made head for his faith, and not for the dignity of any see. Therefore the bishops of Rome could pretend to nothing from him but as they followed his faith; and Liberius and some other bishops there had been condemned for heresy; and if, according to St. James, faith be to be tried by

works, the lives of the popes for several ages gave shrewd presumptions that their faith was not good. And though it were granted, that such a power was given to the see of Rome; yet, by many instances, he shewed that positive precepts in a matter of that nature were not for ever obligatory; and therefore Gerson wrote a book *De auferibilitate Papæ.* So that if a pope with the cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tried by a General Council, and submit to it. St. Peter gave an account of his baptizing Cornelius, when he was questioned about it. So Damasus, Sixtus, and Leo, purged themselves of some scandals.

"Then he shewed how corrupt the present pope was both in his person, and government, for which he was abhorred even by some of his cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at Rome. It is true, there was no law to proceed against a vicious pope, for it was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible. But new diseases required new remedies. And if a pope that is a heretic may be judged in a Council, the same reason would hold against a simoniacal, covetous, and impious pope, who was salt that had lost its savour. And by several authorities he proved, that every man, who lives so, is thereby out of the communion of the Church; and that as the pre-eminence of the see of Rome flowed only from the laws of men, *so there was now good cause to repeal these;* for the pope, as was said in the

Council of Basil, was only vicar of the Church, and not of Christ, so he was accountable to the Church. The Council of Constance and the divines of Paris had, according to the doctrine of the ancient Church, declared the pope to be subject to a General Council, which many popes in former ages had confessed. And all that the pope can claim, even by the canon law, is only to call and preside in a General Council, but not to over-rule it, or have a negative vote in it.

" The power of Councils did not extend to princes' dominions or secular matters, but only to points of faith which they were to declare, and to condemn heretics. Nor were their decrees laws, till they were enacted by princes. Upon this he enlarged much, to shew, that though a Council did proceed against a king, *(with which they then threatened the king,)* their sentence was of no force, as being without their sphere. The determination of Councils ought to be well considered, and examined by the Scriptures; and, in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their freedom. He taxed the severity of Victor's proceedings, against the Churches of the East, about the day of Easter; and concluded, that as a member of the body is not cut off, except a gangrene comes in it, so no part of the Church ought to be cut off but upon a great and inevitable cause. *And he very largely shewed with what moderation, and charity, the Church should proceed even against those*

that held errors. And the standard of the Councils' definitions should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from men's traditions.

"He said, some General Councils had been rejected by others; and it was a tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a General Council. Some decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The divines of Paris held, that a Council could not make a new article of faith that was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's promises to the people of Israel had this condition implied within them, *If they kept His commandments;* so he thought the promises of the Christian Church had this condition in them, *If they kept the faith.* Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to General Councils; and he thought that only the Word of God was the rule of faith, which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The Scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rule of the faith of Christians; and these, by the appointment of the ancient Councils, were only to be read in the churches. The Fathers Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did in many things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures as the common and certain standard. And he cited some remarkable passage out of St. Austin, to shew what difference he put between the Scriptures and all the other writings even of the best and holiest Fathers. But when all the Fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of

Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceit. Therefore he thought Councils ought to found their decisions on the Word of God, and those expositions of it that had been agreed on by the doctors of the Church.

"Then he discoursed very largely what a person a judge ought to be: he must not be partial, nor a judge in his own cause, nor so much as sit on the bench when it is tried, lest his presence should overawe others. Things also done upon a common error cannot bind, when the error, upon which they are done, comes to be discovered; *and all human laws ought to be changed, when a public visible inconvenience follows them.* From which he concluded that the pope being a party, and having already passed his sentence, in things which ought to be examined by a General Council, could not be a judge nor sit in it. Princes also, who upon a common mistake thinking the pope head of the Church, had sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground, may pull their neck out of his yoke, *as every man may make his escape out of the hands of a robber.* And the Court of Rome was so corrupt, that a pope, though he meant well, as Adrian did, yet could never bring any good design to an issue; the cardinals, and the rest of that Court, being so engaged to maintain their corruptions."

Before the year 1534 was closed, the archbishop gave another testimony to the world that he was not now, in the reign of Henry, making "[1] the most public profession of the catholic religion, the regal supremacy *alone* excepted," as it has been urged against him. For he at this time recommended, as an important benefit to the people, a correct version of the Scriptures in their own language. Such was the opinion, at a later period, of a very distinguished ornament of the Church of Ireland. I transcribe it with pleasure. "[2] He (bishop Bedell) thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, *as it had first let the Reformation into the other parts of Europe.* And he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased. It was on these words of Christ, *Have ye not read;* and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, *Have ye not read?* all the answer they could make, to it would be, *No, for they were not suffered to do it.* Upon which he taxed with great zeal the restraint put upon the use of the Scriptures by the see of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon, preaching upon Pilate's question, *What is truth?* He told them that at last after

[1] Butler, Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 216.

[2] Bishop Burnet's Life of Bedell, 1685, p. 119.

many searches he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, saying, *There it was in his hand;* but then he put it into his pocket, and said coldly, *But the book is prohibited;* which is so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory."

But though the convocation had now agreed, that the king should be addressed to direct "a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men to be by him nominated, and *to be delivered unto the people according to their learning;*" there was yet some delay in the proceeding. There was a partiality in the address, which Cranmer could not approve. It was his design that the Scriptures should be open to all. Moreover, the address displayed an effort to check the progress of the Reformation, in also requesting that "all books of *suspected doctrine,* especially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea," should be called in. Numerous little treatises, both at home and abroad, highly serviceable to the noble views of the archbishop, had now issued from the press. Gardiner was no stranger to their influence. By him and his party, both in the convocation and in secret with the king, the temporary impediment to the new version had been raised. To them belonged the rudely penned censure contained in the preface to a book that had recently been published, entitled *The Scripture in Englyshe:*

" They reckon it for a great heresy,
" And unto lay people grievous outràge,
" To have God's Word in their native languàge."

Gardiner, however, was not able to prevent the circulation of doctrine, opening the way to Protestantism, which appeared at the [1] close of 1534, in the book, of which the name indeed was borrowed from the Romish ritual, entitled the Primer; and was then published with the king's authority. It is a miscellaneous compilation, to many parts of which Gardiner must have been adverse, while Cromwell and Cranmer were sufficiently powerful to maintain the insertion of them. It successfully attacked several Romish prejudices, and it was gladly received. A second edition of it soon appeared; in the revision of which, and perhaps in the compilation of some of its parts, Strype conjectures the archbishop to have been engaged. That edition was issued from the [2] press in June, 1535, and in its title bore the impress of the king's arms impaled with those of Anne Boleyn. Not a year hardly afterwards elapsed for a long time without the re-appearance of this book; which in this ignorant age, while it was allowed freely to be read by all, though it retained much of the

[1] Imprinted by John Byddell, at London in Fletestrete, mdxxxiiij. Herbert, Hist. of Printing.

[2] Of Byddell, as before. Herbert.

Romish leaven, [1] did excellent service; and was one among the many important services, as Strype observes, rendered by Cromwell to the Reformation. An edition of it later than the first, which had been sent to him by Cromwell, the archbishop certainly corrected, as he thus acknowledges.

" [2] My very singular good lord. After my most hearty commendations these shall be to signify unto your lordship, that I have overseen the Primer which you sent unto me; and therein I have noted and amended such faults as are most worthy of reformation. Divers things there are besides therein, which, if before the printing of the book had been committed unto me to oversee, I would have amended. Howbeit they be not of that importance but that for this time they may be well enough permitted, and suffered to be read of the people. And the book of itself, no doubt, is very good and commendable. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Croydon the xxjst day of July."

The admonition to the reader of this compilation denounces the " pestilent and infectious books," which at this time had been put into the hands of the people; " in which they had learned

[1] Strype, Ecc. Mem. 1. 321.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

with much foolish superstition and as great scrupulosity, to make rehearsal of their sins by heart;" and which "abounded with infinite errors and perilous prayers, slanderous both to God and His saints;" as placing God and His creatures on the same level, by addressing prayers to the saints and to the Virgin Mary. The Primer itself consisted of expositions of various Psalms, of the Commandments, and the Creed, with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and with an explanation of some devotional offices.

CHAPTER VI.

1535.

Gardiner opposed to Cranmer—Opposition also of bishop Stokesley to the archbishop—Stokesley's character—Cromwell appointed vicar general to the Crown—Dissolution of monasteries proposed—Coverdale's Bible—Anne Boleyn's remark concerning the king's authority for that Bible—Cranmer's pastoral care for the Marches of Calais—Latimer appointed bishop of Worcester—His style of preaching—Dr. Browne consecrated by Cranmer archbishop of Dublin—His history, as connected with that of the Reformation in Ireland.

The enmity of Gardiner to the primate, which had been shewn in his opposition to the proposed version of the Bible, was now again exhibited in objecting to the notice of a metropolitan visitation, which Cranmer [1] issued in the spring of 1535. Elated with the hope of dishonouring the archbishop, this crafty prelate pretended that the title of *primate of all England*, which belonged to the see of Canterbury, detracted from the regal supre-

[1] Strype.

macy; and that the diocese of Winchester ought not to be put to the cost of the present visitation, few years only having elapsed since the predecessor of Cranmer visited it. Whether his pretence in respect to avoiding this inspection of his diocese was of avail, it appears not. In regard to the style of the primate, it entirely failed. Cranmer vindicated the justness of the distinction, and silenced his adversary, notwithstanding "[1] Gardiner lacked," as he tells Cromwell, "neither learning in the law, neither witty invention, nor craft to set forth his matters to the best." At the same time he says, with admirable temper, "I pray God never to be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, further than it shall be to the setting forth of God's Word and Will. Yet I will not utterly excuse myself herein. For God must be judge, who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself. But I speak for so much as I do feel in my heart. For many evil actions lie lurking there, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing at the pleasure and suit of the bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is."

[1] Both Burnet and Strype have printed the whole of the archbishop's letter.

About the same time Stokesley, bishop of London, in vain [1] resisted the visitation of the archbishop; and entered in his register three idle protestations against it. This was the prelate of whom Cranmer, on proceeding with his plan for a new version of the Scriptures, required the same aid as he did of other prelates and learned persons, to whom he sent portions of Tindal's New Testament for their correction. To Stokesley he sent the Acts of the Apostles. When the time, fixed for a return of these corrected divisions, arrived, his coarse and angry evasion to the archbishop, verbally given to his servant, betrays the fear that he entertained of allowing the people to search the sacred pages: "[2] I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, and never will. And therefore my lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." This too is the prelate who, in the recent history of our country, is recorded as one of the most loyal and learned of the bishops who employed their talents in support of the regal supremacy, [3] *from affection to the cause,* as was thought; and yet afterwards is called one of

[1] Strype. [2] Ibid.

[3] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 284.

"[1] the associates of Gardiner, who, *to avoid the royal displeasure,* consented to renounce the papal supremacy."

The great friend of the archbishop, Thomas Cromwell, was now elevated to an office, hitherto unknown in this country, and known only in this solitary instance; that of vicar-general to the crown, which rendered him the judge of all ecclesiastical affairs, and placed him in rank above the primates of the realm. It was in the year 1535 that he resolved on a visitation of the monasteries; the dissolution of which was now a project of the king. The resistance of the monastic bodies to Henry, and their attachment to the see of Rome, together with his own desire to be enriched by the dissolution, were the [2] causes of this project. Except Cromwell, others among the reformers [3] endeavoured what they could to prevent the suppression being general, or at least to convert the revenues to national and not particular benefits. Out of these revenues, it was the advice of Cranmer to the king, more bishoprics might be formed, that so, dioceses being reduced into less extent, diocesans might better discharge their office; and new foundations in every cathedral might be erected, so as to be nurseries of learning

[1] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 349. Hall in his chronicle, let me add, describes Stokesley as a man indeed "of great wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity."

[2] Strype. [3] Ibid.

for the whole of each diocese. This advice is said to have been offered, because the archbishop had seen how inconsistent with the reformation of religion were the [1] essentials of the constitution of the monastic societies, namely, purgatory, masses, pilgrimages, and the worship of saints and images. The commissioners, appointed to inquire into all the circumstances of the religious houses, had begun their employment in October 1535. Partial suppressions soon followed. In the same month of the following year Cranmer thus wrote to Cromwell, then lord privy seal, upon the progress of the dissolution. "[2] I perceive that your lordship, not without urgent and godly considerations, hath suppressed already divers friars' houses, and bestowed them upon honest men, as I am informed; which your godly proceeding, I trust, shall as well extend unto Canterbury as in other places, to the intent that the irreligious religion there may be extincted, [as] with others."

But to return to the October of the preceding year. The archbishop was at this time gratified by the publication of Miles Coverdale's Bible, which evidently shewed, in the dedication of it to the king, that the Holy Scriptures were now allowed, by royal authority, to be had and read in English. In this transaction Cromwell and the archbishop were doubtless instrumental. We

[1] Strype.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

shall soon witness the very important correspondence on the subject of the Bible, in which both Cromwell and Cranmer, as well as Coverdale, and also several printers of the holy volume, are concerned. Meantime let Anne Boleyn confirm the grant of authority which Henry now had given, and at the same testify that regard to the Reformation with which her own mind was impressed. "[1] Grant us, most merciful Father," so she prayed, "this one of the greatest gifts that ever Thou gavest to mankind, *the knowledge of Thy holy will, and glad tidings of our salvation,* this great while oppressed with the tyranny of the adversary of Rome and his fautors, and kept close under Latin letters, and now at length *promulgate, published, and set at liberty by the grace poured into the heart of Thy supreme power, our prince,* as all kings' hearts be in Thy hand; as in the old Law [Thou] didst use like mercy to the people of Israel by Thy high instrument the good king Josia, which restored the temple decayed to its former beauty, *abolished all worshipping of images and idolatry, and set abroad the Law by the space of many hundred years before clean out of remembrance.*"

In the October too of 1535, the pastoral care

[1] Copied by Lewis from a little MS. Manual of Devotions, said to have been the present of this queen to her maids of honour, and in the possession of Francis Wyat, Esq. Hist. of the Transl. of the Bible, 1709. p. 97.

of the archbishop for the Marches of Calais, then belonging to the Crown of England, occasioned him thus to write to Cromwell, who was still secretary of state.

" [1] Right worshipfull, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas among other of the king's dominions there is no part, in my opinion, that more needeth good instruction of the Word of God, or aid of learned curates to be resident, than doth the Town and Marches of Calais, considering specially not alonely the great ignorance and blindness as well of the heads now resident there, as of the common and vulgar people, in the doctrine and knowledge of Scripture; but also having respect unto the universal concourse of aliens and strangers, which daily diverteth and resorteth thither; I think that it will no less be a charitable and godly deed, than a singular commodity for this realm, to have in those parts at the least two learned persons planted and settled there, by the king's authority, in some honest living; whose sincerity in conversation of living and teaching shall shortly, no doubt, extinct and extirpate all manner [of] hypocrisy, false faith, and blindness of God and His Word, wherein now the inhabitants there be altogether wrapt, to the no little slander, I fear me, of this

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

realm, and prejudice of the good and laudable Acts lately conceived by the king's Grace and his high court of parliament. Which thing to reform lieth much in you, in case you will but move the king's Highness (forasmuch as the collation of the benefices there belongeth unto his Grace) to give them, as they fall, unto such men as be both able and willing to do God and his Grace acceptable service in discharging of their cures.

"In consideration hereof, and inasmuch as I am advertised that the parsonage of St. Peter's besides Calais is like shortly to be void, and in the king's Grace's disposition, I beseech you either to obtain the same for Master [1] Garret, whose learning and conversation is known to be right good and honest, or else for some other as is so able and willing to discharge the same as he is: wherein I assure you that you shall accomplish a

[1] Thomas Garret was one of the most active among those, who early engaged themselves in the Protestant cause. In 1527 he went to Oxford with numerous Latin books, treating of the Scriptures, and with Tindal's translation of the New Testament, which he dispersed or sold among the Lutherans. Wolsey committed him to prison, from which he escaped. Afterwards Anne Boleyn solicited preferment for him. He had been curate of Honey Lane in London. He was at length one of the martyrs to the sanguinary Six Acts of Henry, and perished in the same flames with Dr. Barnes, who had been the great restorer of learning at Cambridge. Foxe. Strype. A. Wood, Ann. Univ. Ox. under 1527.

right meritorious deed before God, and deserve condign thanks hereafter of your prince for promoting so great a commodity for his realm.

"And whereas I am informed, that the curate of St. Mary's within Calais intendeth to make suit unto you for the said benefice, I pray you not to regard his suit, for I know that he is nothing meet for that room, specially in this world of Reformation.—At Otford, the viijth day of October."

The friend and fellow-martyr of the archbishop, Hugh Latimer, was in the preceding month consecrated bishop of Worcester. To Anne Boleyn he is supposed to have been principally indebted for this promotion. With his uncouth but earnest discourses herself as well others of the regal court were much taken. But Cranmer, we may be sure, had paved the way for his advancement. He had not long before appointed him, while resident on a benefice in Wiltshire, his [1] commissary to license preachers; he had brought him up from that residence [2] to preach at court; and had described him as "[3] a man of singular learning, virtuous example of living, and sincere preaching of the Word of God." But knowing the singularity of his manner, the archbishop, it is curious to observe, advised him in his sermons "[4] to over-

[1] Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. 1045. Copies of letters of the archbishop to Latimer, and others. No. 46.

[2] Ibid. 47. [3] Ibid. 48. [4] Ibid. 47.

pass and omit all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings, to the intent your audience have none occasion thereby; namely, to slander your adversaries; which would seem to many that you were void of charity, and so much the more unworthy to occupy that room. Nevertheless, if such occasion be given by the Word of God, let none offence on suspicion be unreprehended, especially if it be generally spoken, without affection. Furthermore, I would that you should so study to comprehend your matter, that in any condition you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half at the most. For, by long expence of time, the king and the queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end."

The advancement of another distinguished person to the prelacy also occurred in 1535, who was consecrated by Cranmer. This was Dr. George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, the first Protestant prelate in Ireland, of whom the learned and pious Usher has drawn a very interesting character. He had been provincial of the Augustine Order in England, but had soon become a zealous friend to the Reformation. His private character was that of a plain downright man, compassionate to the poor; his public, that of a teacher advising the people to address their prayers, not to saints, but

only to Christ. His exertions attracted the notice of Cromwell, by whom he was recommended to Henry; and thus he attained at once, as the first Protestant archbishop in England had attained, a primacy without passing through an intermediate bishopric. He had no sooner entered upon the duties of his station, than he was appointed by Cromwell one of the commissioners to enforce in Ireland the acknowledgment of the regal supremacy. In this employment difficulty and danger attended him. The archbishop of Armagh violently opposed him, making a speech to his clergy, as Browne informs Cromwell, "[1] in which he laid a curse on the people, whosoever should own to his Highness's supremacy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but the bishop of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors who gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to Rome. Your worship may inform his Highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by Act; for they do not matter much his Highness's commission which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders;

[1] Historical Collect of the Ch. of Ireland, &c. Life of Dr. George Browne, 4to. 1681, p. 2.

and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his Highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared [1] O'Neal will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's order from the king's Highness; for the natives are much in numbers within his power.—Dublin, 4. kalend. Decembr. 1535." In the following year a parliament was called, and this intrepid prelate told the lords, previously to the enactment of the supremacy, that "[2] Rome and her bishops in the Fathers' days acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's own vicars; and it is much to the bishop of Rome's shame [now] to deny what their precedent bishops owned: therefore his Highness claims but what he can justify the bishop Eleutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britains; so that I shall without scrupling vote his Highness king Henry

[2] O'Neal was one of those who had committed many ravages in Ireland, and who murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, Browne's immediate predecessor.

[1] Hist. Coll. ut supr. p. 3.

my supreme over ecclesiastic matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles England and Ireland; and that without guilt of conscience or sin to God; and he, who will not pass this Act as I do, is no true subject to his Highness." The Act passed; but ere long archbishop Browne was compelled to report to Cromwell the insincerity of many who had subscribed to it, and the activity of the pontiff against the Reformation in that country. At the same time he tells the lord privy seal, that he had directed "[1] the Romish relics and images of both his cathedrals in Dublin" to be removed; "as they took off the common people from the true worship; but that the prior and the dean found them so sweet for their gain, that they heeded not his words: therefore," he says, "send in your lordship's next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they may be reremoved. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome, to be encouraged; and, if not hindered before they have a mandate from the bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long before his Highness can submit them to his orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you in their Irish tongue *the blacksmith's son.*" The bull of excommunication by Paul III. against Henry,

[1] Hist. Coll. ut supr. p. 4.

very soon after the date of this letter, was issued both in England and Ireland. It had been prepared by the successor of Clement, and is dated, in 1535; but was suspended, under an expectation perhaps of yet redeeming the subjection which was lost. Vain was such an expectation. The instrument was therefore given to the world in 1538; and, among the atrocious injunctions,[1] decreed that the king should be deprived of all his dominions, and that to him and his abettors Christian burial should be denied. It placed under an interdict all places where the king should come, prohibiting all divine service or ceremonies in any place subject to his dominion. It declared the offspring of Anne Boleyn, and the children of all Henry's supporters, born or to be born, infamous, and deprived them of all possessions and honours. It absolved all subjects from their allegiance to the king. It forbade all trading and intercourse with him. It directed all ecclesiastical persons to leave his kingdom. It commanded all the nobility of England to take up arms against him, and expel him from the throne. It rendered void all treaties with him. It doomed all who adhered to him to be taken for slaves. It directed the priests and prelates to pronounce his excommunication in their churches. Barlow,

[1] Bishop Barlow's Brutum Fulmen, &c. 1681, p. 11. And Turner, Hen. VIII. 644.

bishop of Lincoln, who has [1] printed the bull entire, observes that "as it was highly impious, so to Henry and his subjects it was ridiculous; and all the effect it had, was, that it increased their hate and contempt of the antichristian pride and folly of its author." To Ireland, at the [2] same time, Paul sent a tedious form of confession, as a kind of supplement to the bull; which required, under pain of excommunication, those who had acknowledged the supremacy of Henry, to confess to their priests that they had done amiss; and which directed them "to count all Acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force or worth, and not to be obeyed by any son of the Church of Rome." Archbishop Browne communicated this resistance to Cromwell. Throughout the reigns of Henry and Edward, Dublin profited by the exertions of this prelate for the Reformation; and in that of Mary, on this account, he lost his see. Nor did he long survive the loss.

[1] Brutum Fulmen, &c. p. 215, seq.

[2] Hist. Coll. ut supr. pp. 5, 6.

CHAPTER VII.

1535 to 1536.

Embassy to the Protestant princes at Smalcald—Cranmer's recommendation of Heath one of the English ambassadors—His acquaintance with Melancthon and Alexander Aless—His interference with Cromwell for another of the exiles, who with Aless had fled from Scotland, as favouring the Protestant cause—General activity of Cranmer in this cause—Fall of Anne Boleyn—Cranmer's letter to the king on the occasion—Divorces her from Henry—Remarks on her history—Cranmer's interest with the king not injured by her death—Bidding prayers again directed—Hope of reconciliation with the see of Rome entertained, and disappointed—Cromwell, the bearer of the king's message in favour of the reformers—Aless speaks to the same purpose—The entire speech of Cranmer.

THE king of England had been treating in 1535 with the Protestant princes in Germany, assembled at Smalcald. With them he agreed as to the meeting of a free general council, and professed a disposition to join with them in the maintenance of true doctrine. But the great object, which he

had in view by negociating with them, was, even yet, to obtain in that country a full approval of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. The same dissent however that had there been shewn, when favourable opinions were sought in regard to the divorce from Catharine, was now expressed. The end of Anne Boleyn was not far distant; after which the proceedings of this country with the confederates were suspended. The present ambassadors from Henry were Fox, bishop of Hereford; Nicholas Heath, at this time possessing only the small archdeaconry of Stafford, afterwards archbishop of York; and Dr. Barnes. Heath had been joined to the other two by the recommendation of Cranmer, who was consulted upon the occasion; and the following letter of the archbishop to Cromwell exhibits his friendly solicitude for the outfit of this royal commissioner, whose interesting character he gives, as Melancthon also [1] gave it, after he had been introduced to him at the conferences at Smalcald. The letter too represents the generous writer of it as [2] again in pecuniary difficulty.

[1] "One only of these guests," says Melancthon to Camerarius, (Ep. lib. 4. 183,) "the archdeacon Heath, excels in amiableness of disposition and sound learning: the others have no relish for our philosophy and mode of discourse, so that I shun their society as much as possible." Strype. And Cox, Life of Melancthon, 2nd ed. 375.

[2] See his former letter to Cromwell, for a loan from the Crown.

" [1] In my right hearty manner, I commend me unto you; certifying you that to accomplish the king's commandment I shall send unto you Mr. Heath to-morrow, which for his learning, wisdom, discretion, and sincere mind toward his prince, I know no man in my judgment more meet to serve the king's Highness's purpose. Yet for many other considerations I know no man more unable to appoint himself to the king's honour than he. For he lacketh apparel, horses, plate, money, and all things convenient for such a journey. He hath also no [2] benefice, nor no promotion towards the bearing of his charges. And as you know I am in great necessity, and not able to help him, in all these things I know no remedy, unless it please the king's Highness to furnish him of all things necessary to his voyage, and moreover to allow him such a diet whereof alone he may maintain his room and office to the king's honour. Wherein I beseech you to persuade the king's Highness in my name; adding thereunto all the help that you may do also. And as for his acquaintance with the king's great cause, I know no man in England can defend it better than he. Nevertheless, I pray you send him again to me, that we may confer it together once again, before he

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[2] He means no parochial benefice, and considers the promotion of Heath to the archdeaconry as of little avail to the present purpose.

depart hence. Thus our Lord have you in His preservation. From my Manor at Otford, January 5, [1535-6.]"

In the preceding August the acquaintance of Melancthon with the archbishop seems to have commenced. At this time Alexander Aless, a native of Scotland, who, in consequence of the persecutions of 1534 in that country, had fled from it with other learned men, and in Germany had become well acquainted with Melancthon, was invited into England from Antwerp [1] by Cromwell and the archbishop. Melancthon, therefore, with his recommendation also of this banished scholar, made him the bearer of one of his own works to the primate; and told him that [2] he left the judgment of controversies, then agitated, to his Grace and to men of piety and learning like himself, from whom he would never differ in the Church of Christ. It is sufficient at present to state, that Aless was now hospitably received at the palace of Lambeth. Of him, as of Melancthon, other notices will soon occur. But the kindness of the archbishop to another of the Scottish exiles, about this time also, must not be overpassed. To Cromwell he accordingly introduces (and to him he is believed to have introduced Aless) a gentleman of the name of

[1] Wordsworth, Ecc. Biog. ii. 303. [2] Strype.

[1] *Hambleton.* " [2] Whereas upon no consideration else, as I understand," he says, " the bearer of this letter is put from his lands and possessions in Scotland *but for that he favoureth the truth of God's Word,* and is besides his birth a man of right good living and honest conversation, and of genteel behaviour, by whom the Word of God in this his exile hath no slander, but is the rather to be had in price and esteemed of others, considering that he so willingly hath borne his adversity: These shall be to desire you, my lord, to be a mediator unto the king's Highness for him, that being of this good judgment he may have of his Grace some competent living for his degree; which in my opinion shall not only be a good and an acceptable deed unto God, but also much redound to the king's Grace's honour so to consider the necessity of a gentleman for God's quarrel. And besides this, your lordship for your part cannot be unrewarded of God for the same." He renews his suit for this sufferer a few months afterwards, and entreats Cromwell " [3] to move the king to give

[1] Perhaps intended for *Hamilton*, as that name anciently was pronounced and sometimes written; some relation, probably the brother, of the nobly descended Patrick Hamilton, the first who suffered in Scotland (in 1528) for the Protestant cause; and who had been well acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, and other learned men among the German reformers. See Spottiswoode, Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westm. dat. Aug. 9. [1535.]

[3] Ibid. 28 Feb. [1535-6.]

him somewhat to live on here in England, *until it please God to send the true light of the Gospel into his country.*"

Active as the partisans of the see of Rome now were against the designs of Cranmer, they were unable to defeat his own activity. Whether an individual or a public body were to be protected from the adversaries of the Reformation, the archbishop was ever upon the alert. It was thus, that in 1535 he bade Cromwell beware of accusations brought against a person "[1] by such as little regarded the promoting of the Gospel, but were rather papistical and superstitious." It was thus, that, in consequence of some in his diocese being indicted for holding pretended unlawful assemblies, his inquiries discovered that it was only because they approved "the *new doctrine*," that such a process had been begun; and therefore he besought Cromwell that they might be released from it: [2] For if the king's subjects within this realm," he says, "*which favour God's Word*, shall be unjustly vexed at sessions, it will be no marvel though much sedition be daily engendered within the realm." It was thus also that he gave another caution to his exalted friend, on account of endeavours made by "[3] certain seditious persons"

[1] Original MS. Chapter-House at Westminster, dat. 12th Octob. [1535.]

[2] Ibid. Apr. 29. [1536.]

[3] Ibid. Apr. 6. [1535.]

to injure the rights of the College at which he had been educated; upon the subject of which he wishes to confer with him, and at the same time "[1] to do his duty to the king's Highness and the queen, whom of long he had not seen."

But he was soon to behold the face of this cruelly treated lady no more. The year 1536 opened with no friendly prospect for her. The attentions of the king were now estranged from her. Among her maids was Jane Seymour, who at this time had attracted the amorous notice of Henry. "[2] Of fresh beauties he was a great admirer." Of the lady it has been said, that the love, which seemed only to sport itself in the eyes of Anne, in [3] her's seemed to threaten. To her just amazement, the queen discovered this her rival sitting on the knee of the king. Overpowered by the circumstance, she gave way to grief, and was prematurely delivered in January of a dead son. Henry uttered his disappointment not with-

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at West. dat. Apr. 6. [1535.]

[2] Heylin.

[3] Collier says of her, that "this lady being a finer woman, and a novelty to the king's fancy, might probably make his jealousy run higher against the queen, and proceed to the utmost rigours of law against her." ii. 116. The Act of Parliament, which annulled the marriage of Anne Boleyn, and recites that of Jane Seymour, accordingly mentions "her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood," by way of complimenting, we may suppose, the capricious monarch's fancy.

out ungenerous reproach, and Anne her misfortune not without the true assignment of it to his unkindness. But the present distress of her "so late his life, his sole delight," awakened in him no compassion; it rather hurried him on to her ruin. Of this she appears to have been sensible, long before the time usually given by our historians, when Henry abruptly left the festivities at Greenwich on the first of May. Her apprehensions were [1] expressed so early as in February. The Greenwich interruption has been rightly pronounced [2] mere public scenery. For indeed her arrest had been determined upon at least a week before, which is [3] proved by commissioners being then appointed to commence the investigation of what was alleged against her. Meantime Cranmer was sent for from another of his residences to Lambeth, where he was ordered by the king at present to remain; that he might be at hand, some say, to divorce the accused queen from her impatient lord; that he might be prevented, say others, as her enemies had planned it, from personally interceding with the sovereign in her behalf. Of all her former adherents, Cranmer now alone retained his grateful regard for her. He therefore resolved to inform Henry by letter, though he had been persuaded to think her guilty, how unwilling he was still to cherish the thought;

[1] Ridley, Life of Bishop Ridley, 1763, p. 120.

[2] Turner, Hen. VIII. 631. [3] Ibid.

and with equal tenderness and discretion, while under the restriction at his palace, thus he wrote.

"[1] Pleaseth it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that at your Grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary's letters, written in your Grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your Grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your Grace's commandment I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your Grace's presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your Grace's heart, and to take all the adversities of God's hands both patiently and thankfully.

"I cannot deny but your Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness; and also that, in the wrongful estimation of the world, your Grace's honour of every part is so highly touched, *whether the things that be spoken of be true or not,* that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace any like occasion to try your Grace's constancy throughout, whether you can be content to take of God's

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. from the MS. Cotton Lib.

hand as well things displeasant, as pleasant. And if He find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto His will that your Grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking Him than when all things succeeded after your Grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring His glory and honour; then I suppose your Grace did never thing more acceptable unto Him, since your first governance of this your realm. And moreover your Grace shall give unto Him occasion to multiply and increase His graces and benefits unto your Highness, as He did unto His most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.*

"*And if it be true that is openly reported of the queen's Grace,* if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your Grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, *which maketh me think that she should not be culpable.* And again I think that your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had been surely culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next unto your Grace *I was most bound unto her of all creatures*

living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace to suffer me in that, which both God's Law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your Grace's favour, wish and pray for her, *that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent*. And if she be found culpable, considering your Grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your Grace of your only mere goodness took her and set the crown upon her head; I repute him not your Grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of all others. And as I loved her not a little *for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and His Gospel;* so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and His Gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed His Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Grace's favour, yet Almighty God hath manifestly declared His goodness towards your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure, [ac]knowledgeth that you have offended Him.

"Wherefore I trust that your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the Gospel, than you did before; forsomuch as your Grace's favour to the Gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel He hath ordained your Grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your Grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of His Gospel. From Lambeth, the 3d day of May; [1536.]

"After I had written this letter unto your Grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your Grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star-Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your Grace's pleasure was they should make me privy to: for the which I am most bounden unto your Grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of [1] their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject."

The trial and condemnation of the queen almost immediately followed. Not content with this result, the king resolved on further vengeance;

[1] But upon no other evidence.

and after two days more the afflicted archbishop was obliged judicially to declare her marriage invalid, and her offspring illegitimate. But the direct ground, on which his sentence was formed, was never publicly declared. Her confession of a precontract with Percy, earl of Northumberland, which however he solemnly denied, has been supposed to have been made by her, and to have been accepted by Cranmer, not without some hope of reversing the doom of death. But of this there is no proof. Certain it is, that "[1] in the sentence of divorce," as Fuller long since observed, "no particular cause is specified: there is no dashing on the credit of the lady, nor any the least insinuations of inchastity in it." Thus the Act which now passed, referring to the Acts that were made at the time of her marriage, only generally mentions, that "[2] certain impediments were brought to light which were unknown at the making of the said Acts, and since that time confessed by the lady Anne before the archbishop of Canterbury sitting judicially for the same." It has been [3] urged, that her admission of Henry having been criminally connected with her sister Mary before her own marriage, (one of the charges virulently brought against the sovereign only by cardinal Pole,) was obtained as the war-

[1] Church-Hist. 207.

[2] Stat. June or July, 1536.

[3] Lingard Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 322.

rant for this proceeding. But even if the charge had been true, of which there is no evidence, Henry would hardly have resorted to such an acknowledgment of his own superlative baseness.

In short, we know not what was her confession, nor the [1] precise points on which she was convicted. "The records of her trial have perished, probably by the hands of [2] those," it has been said, "who respected her memory;" rather, I may venture to suppose, by the hands of those who did not respect it, the enemies of the Reformation, of which she had been the nursing mother, that so posterity might not be able to trace and detect all that tyranny suggested, and perjury enforced, against her. And as to the Act in question, many will ever be found still to say with bishop Godwin, "[3] I will not derogate from public records, but an Act of Parliament against her shall not work on my belief."

Her death in no respect diminished the influence of Cranmer with the king. A [4] letter from

[1] In the Act "although the crimes of incest and adultery, which formed the *pretence* of her disgrace and murder, are alluded to, still she is not expressly charged with either; the words being merely that she *confederated* with her brother lord Rochford, Norris, &c. to commit most detestable and abominable treasons." Nicolas, Rem. of Lady Jane Gray, &c. 1825, p. cxxviii.

[2] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 316.

[3] Annals, ed. 1630. 141.

[4] Wilkins, Concil. iii. 807.

Henry, however, was now directed to him, requiring that all preachers should be admonished to avoid diversity of teaching; and that, before they commenced their discourses, the bidding prayer, which had been lately ordered, should be continued; the names of "the most gracious lady queen Anne," and of "the lady Elizabeth her daughter and heir to herself and the king," being of course erased. The [1] form was thus issued to the clergy by the respective prelates. "Ye shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and specially for this realm of England, wherein I commend to your devout prayers, the king's most excellent Majesty, supreme head in earth immediately under God of the spiritualty and temporalty of the same; and of the most noble and virtuous lady, queen Jane, his most lawful wife. Secondly, ye shall pray for the clergy, the lords temporal, and commons of this realm; beseeching Almighty God to give every man grace in his degree so to use himself, as may be to His contentation, the king's honour, and the weal of the realm. Thirdly, ye shall pray for the souls departed abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please Him the rather at the contemplation of our prayers to grant them the fruition of His presence."

[1] Wilkins cites the register of the bishop of Hereford. The above is from the register of the archbishop of York. They are dated in June and July, 1536.

That England might again be subjected to the see of Rome, was a hope that was cherished, and a fruitless endeavour that was made, now that Anne Boleyn was fallen, by the reigning pontiff. The king was [1] not to be reconciled. In the convocation now assembled to confirm the sentence that had been pronounced by Cranmer against the marriage of Anne Boleyn, there were among the clergy, however, a party favourable to the foreign ascendancy sought to be re-established. They complained of opinions that then prevailed, especially such as exposed many tenets of the Church of Rome. Of these they recited no less than sixty-seven; and though "many vile and distempered expressions be found therein," as Fuller, who [2] first printed them, candidly admits, "yet they contain," he adds, "the Protestant religion in ore, which since, by God's blessing, is happily refined." The three last of these declarations are [3] supposed to have been levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, as if they had encouraged the numerous publications which gave rise to the complaints. They certainly did not prohibit them. To this service of the press each of them indeed contributed, though in different degree; the [4] first, prudently and solidly; the second, zealously and simply; the third, not with-

[1] Burnet.
[2] Wilkins copies them from Fuller, Concil. iii. 805.
[3] Burnet. [4] Foxe. Burnet.

out vanity and indiscretion. If their opponents now expected to silence them, and to have added to their triumph at the fall of Anne Boleyn the triumph over her own especial prelates, the project entirely failed. Cromwell came to the convocation, and declared, that it was the king's pleasure that the religion of the kingdom should be [1] reformed by the rules of Scripture; and that nothing could be more absurd than to oppose to its authority, in theological decisions, the glosses of the schoolmen or the decrees of popes. With Cromwell Alexander Aless came to this meeting, where he was desired to deliver his opinion concerning the sacraments; and he [2] contended that Baptism and the Supper of our Lord were alone instituted as such by Christ. He was answered by Stokesley, bishop of London, and others of the Romish party, with the accustomed jargon of the schools and the proffer of unwritten verities, in defence of seven sacraments. Cranmer now rose from his seat; and with dignity rebuked the contention that approached to violence, while he evidently defended the truth which Aless had asserted, in these words.

"It becometh not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and

[1] Foxe. Burnet. [2] Ibid.

effect of the matter. For, to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissention of the world, and in the miserable state of the Church; and not of them which seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church.

"There be weighty controversies now moved, and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the Law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour, which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which have no Word of God to confirm them, whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man or no. Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences or no. Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation,

of orders, and of annealing, and such other, (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins,) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of our Lord or no.

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, *Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.* And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing but the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and monisheth him specially, that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputeth with him of the faith; and addeth a cause, where he saith, *Doing this, thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee.* Now if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture.

"Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in Holy Scripture; and, when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord

sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well, that St. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which, I am sure, you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

CHAPTER VIII.

1536 to 1537.

The first Articles of Religion—The Injunctions which immediately followed them—Discontents on account of them—Cranmer's letter to Cromwell on the disregard which had been shewn to them—His further regard to Calais, as part of his diocese—His letters to Cromwell upon a delusion detected there, and to lord Lisle, the governor, in regard to the clergy and the church service.

THE upper house of convocation had now witnessed a conflict of no ordinary character. The heads of the two parties were the two archbishops. With Cranmer were joined, in favour of a reformation, [1] Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Shaxton, of Salisbury, Latimer, of Worcester, Fox, of Hereford, Hilsey, of Rochester, and Barlow, of St. David's. To them were opposed Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesley, bishop of London, Tunstal, of Durham, Gardiner, of Winchester, Longland, of Lincoln, Sherburn, of Chichester, Nix, of Norwich, and Kite, of Carlisle. To reconcile the parties was evidently the wish of

[1] Lord Herbert. Burnet.

Henry. It was his pride to be considered a profound theologian. He resolved therefore upon forming a system of orthodoxy, to which, at least in his expectation, all would yield assent. The first public and authorized attempt at a reformation of religious opinion, in his reign, accordingly appeared in 1536 with the title of "Articles devised by the king's Highness's Majesty to stablish Christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid contentious opinions; which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the whole clergy of this realm." Lord Herbert is of opinion, that these Articles were devised by the king himself; Strype, that to Cranmer a great share in the preparation of them belongs. The latter gives no reason for what he supposed; the former seems to be supported by the sovereign's own [1] words. But there can be no doubt that Henry was aided by his primate and other divines. Cranmer himself appears to have admitted that with the king the Articles originated, while he conceals not the attention bestowed upon them by himself. Thus he writes to Thirlby, at that time archdeacon of Ely and chaplain to the king, whom he reprehends for his inattention in

[1] We have in our own person, says the king, at many times taken great pains, study, labours, and travails, to this purpose; but then he adds, we have also caused our bishops and other the most discreet and best learned among the clergy to debate and to determine the matters. Pref. to the Art. 1536.

not informing him "[1] of those things in which he desired to know the king's pleasure. For there be iij places specially noted," he says, "one in the margin of the first leaf [of a copy of the Articles, we may presume, now sent to him;] another in the third, where be divers words to be inserted; [and] the iij[d] place is on the second side in the xiiij line, whereof I would have known likewise if the king's Grace would have left out *miracles*, which all the bishops do think good to be left out: and for the same purpose the self-same place in the book of parchment is void. Of the king's Grace's advertisement in these points I would you had declared your diligence.—And where you write that the king's Grace supposeth that I have *these Articles in*[2] *parchment subscribed with the hands of his councillors*, surely at what time I was last at Lambeth Master Cromwell sent to me for it in the king's name, and since as yet I hear nothing thereof."

"[3] Throughout the work," it has been said, "Henry's attachment to the ancient faith is most manifest; and the *only* concession, which he

[1] Harl. MSS. 6148.

[2] The MS. copy of the Articles in the Cotton collection, believed to be corrected by the king before they were printed, is on vellum; in which, however, variations from the printed copies are found.

[3] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. ed. vi. 354.

makes to the men of the new learning, is the order for the removal of abuses, with *perhaps* the omission of a few controverted subjects." And is this all? If by the ancient faith the Church of Rome is exclusively intended, the imposing assertion, (that the bishop of Rome's pardons are necessary for obtaining everlasting salvation, or for delivering the souls of men out of purgatory and the pains of it,) is also in this code of doctrines denied. Without the mention of tradition, or the decrees of the Church, these Articles too declared the Scriptures, and the three ancient Creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, to be the standards of faith. Without scholastic distinctions they plainly stated the terms of the Christian covenant. They removed not indeed the pretended necessity of auricular confession, the corporal presence in the sacrament, the reverence of images, and prayers to the saints. But they reduced the seven sacraments to three; to Baptism, Penance, and the Supper of the Lord; the first and last only of which the archbishop in his speech seems to have considered as sacraments. By perusing these Articles the reader may perceive, Collier himself [1] admits, "that several of the most shocking doctrines of the Romish communion were softened and explained

[1] Eccl. Hist. ii. 128.

to a more inoffensive sense, and several superstitious usages discharged."

"We find indeed in these Articles," says Strype, "many popish errors intermixed with evangelical truths; which must be attributed either to the defectiveness of Cranmer's knowledge as yet in true religion, or as being the principles and opinions of the king, or to both. Let not any be offended herewith; but let him rather take notice what a great deal of Gospel doctrine here came to light, and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which had long prevailed in this nation and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness."

The publication of this formulary occasioned both rejoicing and dismay. The Romanists were dispirited, the Reformers encouraged. Injunctions were now issued by Cromwell, which Cranmer is [1] believed to have dictated, that the Articles should be so explained by all ecclesiastical incumbents to the people, that they might "plainly know, and discern, which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their

[1] Burnet.

salvation; and which be not necessary, but only concern the decent and politic order of the Church." The Injunctions also commanded a declaration to the people, twice in every quarter of the year, of the entire abolition of the papal authority. They abrogated many holidays, particularly those in harvest time, which had been the parents of much idleness and superstition. The people were no longer to extol images or relics, or to make pilgrimages, as if from such things a blessing was to be obtained; but to be instructed how to keep the commandments of God, and to perform works of charity; how to provide for their families at home, instead of idly consuming their substance abroad; how to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue. The ecclesiastics themselves were reminded that their conduct must be correct; that to them others would justly look for example in purity of life; that to the study of the Scriptures their time must be devoted; that, for the sake of their health, some "honest exercise" must be their choice. The tavern they were to shun, except for their "honest necessity." From gaming they were interdicted. In choosing an assistant, they were to appoint to the Cure "not a rude and unlearned person, but a well-learned and expert curate, who would teach wholesome doctrine, and reduce to the right way them that erred."

In the choir of their churches they were also directed to place a Bible, in Latin and English, for the use of all who might wish to read it. If not residing on their benefices, and if able to spend twenty pounds a year, they were to distribute a fortieth part of their annual income to the poor. If able to spend a hundred pounds a year, they were to maintain a scholar at some grammar school, or at one of the Universities. Finally, the fifth part of their revenues they were to appropriate to the repairs of dilapidated residences.

To the corrupt clergy, as well as to the laity who adhered to the old doctrine, these Injunctions could not but give great offence. Their dissatisfaction was encouraged by some of the [1] rulers of the great monastic bodies, who perhaps expected thus to avert the approaching suppression of their own liberties. Cranmer now witnessed in his own cathedral an attempt at opposition, of which he gives the following account to Cromwell.

"[2] My very singular good lord, in my most hearty manner I commend me unto your lordship. And where you require me to advertise you what further knowledge I have concerning

[1] Burnet.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapt. House at Westminster.

the misdemeanor of [1] such Monks of Christ's Church as were detected unto you, as yet I know no more than I wrote to you; saving that the observation of the king's Injunctions is not regarded. For, when any of the Convent will move to have any of the said Injunctions observed, by and bye the Prior saith that he hath a dispensation for it; insomuch that amongst other things, on St. Blase's day last past, the Prior commanded that the relics should be set forth as they were wont to be, and thereof sent word to the Convent into the chapter-house, that it was the king's pleasure so to be done; which is contrary to the Injunctions given. But forasmuch as I was uncertain whether he be thus dispensed with for such things, or no, I thought it good to advertise your lordship thereof. Besides this you shall understand that there is one named Dan Robert Antony, sub-cellarer of Christ's Church, who for fear of examination is gone his way; who left a letter behind him, the tenor whereof you shall perceive by the copy of the letter herein [2] enclosed. Further you shall receive [3] herewithal a letter sent to me from Calais, concerning an oath to be had there for the extirpation of the bishop of Rome's power and authority, according to the

[1] Those who were concerned in the delusion of the Nun of Kent.

[2] Not now remaining with the original.

[3] Lost, as the preceding letter probably is.

Act of Parliament; by which said letter your lordship shall perceive more in that behalf. Also I have in durance with me a French priest of Calais, of whom I wrote to your lordship; and with him I have received an English book which my commissary, with other soldiers of the town, in reprehending such corrupt sayings as are therein contained, sustained much reproof and displeasure. The notable places therein this bearer, my servant, can inform you. If your lordship be minded to have the priest, I will send him to you: he is surely a simple man, without all knowledge of learning, and therefore I think that he hath spoken nothing of malice or purpose, but of ignorance.—At Ford, Feb. xvi. [1536-7.]"

Calais, with its dependencies, now belonging to the diocese of Canterbury, had before engaged, we have seen, the diligent attention of the archbishop. I have met with other letters to the same effect, which it may be proper here to introduce. The doctrines of Protestantism had at this time been preached at Calais, not without opposition however from members of the Romish communion. By [1]Adam Damplip, who had formerly been chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester,

[1] Strype notices the history of this person, but knew not of Cranmer's letter relating to him.

whose religious opinions he then embraced, and had now abandoned, they were zealously urged. He was a man of learning; and, having travelled into Italy after the death of his patron, was countenanced by Pole, who would gladly have retained him there. Damplip, like Cranmer, was estranged from the Church of Rome by what he had witnessed abroad. Returning homeward, a convert to the truths that now were spreading over Europe, he was invited by Henry's lieutenant at Calais, the viscount Lisle, to remain at that place. In that nobleman the Reformation possessed a friend. Damplip ventured to impugn the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, regardless of its still maintaining a place in the English code of doctrines. The friars of Calais proclaimed aloud their abhorrence of him; especially as he had [1] exposed the pretence of a miracle in the church of St. Nicholas, where three transubstantiated hosts that were described to have bled were discovered to be three painted counters. But complaints were sent to England against him; and he was consequently brought before the archbishop, and other prelates, to answer for his conduct. Cranmer appears not only to have been concerned for him, but to have expressed a concurrence in part of his proceedings. Damplip had been advised to abscond, after the examina-

[1] Foxe. Strype.

tion had taken place. He followed the advice, and for a time gained a subsistence, unmolested, in a retired part of England, as a schoolmaster. He was long afterwards sacrificed to the malice of his enemies at Calais, whither he was sent to suffer, after two years confinement in the Marshalsea by [1] Stephen Gardiner, a pretence of his being engaged in a traitorous correspondence with Pole being added to the doctrinal delinquency of which he had been before accused. Of the accusation against him, in the first instance, this is the account of Cranmer to Cromwell. "[2] As for Adam Damplip of Calais, he utterly denieth that ever he taught, or said, that the very body and blood of Christ was not present in the sacrament of the altar; and confesseth the same to be there. But he saith, that the controversy between him and the prior was because he confuted the opinion of the [3] transubstantiation, and *therein I think he taught but the truth.* Howbeit there came in two friars against him, to testify that he had denied the presence of the body and blood to be in the sacrament; which when he perceived, straightway he withdrew himself, and since that time no man can tell where he is become; *for which I am very sorry*, because that I think he is rather fled suspecting the rigour of

[1] Foxe.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapt. House at Westminster.

[3] Alluding to the three hosts.

the law, than the defence of his own cause. In consideration hereof, and to the intent that the people of Calais may be quiet and satisfied in this matter, I have appointed two of my chaplains to go thither and preach incontinently. Nevertheless, it is thought that they shall do little good there, if the said prior return home again. For whatsoever hath been done heretofore either by my chaplains, or by others, in setting forth the Word of God there, no man hath hindered the matter so much as this prior, and no superstition more maintained than by him, which I perceive to be true, both by the report of my chaplains heretofore, and of other men of evidence. I have now sent unto your lordship two letters, which shall something inform you of the prior's subtilty and craft, praying your lordship that in any wise he come not at Calais any more to tarry, but either that the house may be suppressed, or else that an honest and learned man may be appointed in his room. And forasmuch as the prior is here now, I pray you, my lord, that I may have your authority by your letter to command him that he return not to Calais."

The following letter to the governor of the place, soon after the second Injunctions of Cromwell were issued in 1538, exhibits the primate's regulations for proper preachers, and the permission for any persons to read the Bible then

placed in churches, not, however, without the prohibition of interrupting the service by an affectation of expounding any text.

"[1] As to your request," so he writes to lord Lisle, "that none should be suffered to preach nor expound the Holy Scriptures with you but such as shall be authorized by the king's Majesty, or by me, I shall not fail to give such a commandment unto him that shall be my commissary, that he shall suffer no person to preach out of his own cure but such as shall have the said authority.—As concerning such persons as in time of divine service do read the Bible, they do more abuse the king's Grace's intent and meaning in his Grace's Injunctions, and Proclamations, which permit the Bible to be read, not to allure great multitudes of people together, nor thereby to interrupt the time of prayer, meditation, and thanks to be given unto Almighty God, which, specially in divine service is, and of congruence ought to be, used; but that the same be done and read in time convenient privately for the erudition and amendment of the lives both of the readers, and of such hearers as cannot themselves read; and not in contempt or hindrance of any divine service or laudable ceremony used in the church; nor that

[1] MS. State-Paper Office, in the hand-writing of Cranmer's secretary.

any such reading should be used in the church as in a common school, expounding and interpreting Scriptures, unless it be by such as shall have authority to preach and read: but that all other readers of the Bible do no otherwise read thereupon, than the simple and plain text purporteth and lieth printed in the Book. And if it chance that any doubts, or questions, do arise or seem to the readers and hearers of the said Bible, by reason of the text; then they always for the declaration of the said doubts and questions [are] to resort unto such preachers, as shall be lawfully admitted to preach. Which manner of reading and using of the Bible I pray you, my lord, that now, in the absence of my commissary, the same may by your authority be published in your church, and all other churches within the Marches of Calais. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well."

CHAPTER IX.

1537.

Design of a new code of doctrine—The archbishop as a civilian—His letter to Cromwell against illegal and incestuous marriages—To the same about the marriage of the king's natural son, and the new code, the Institution of a Christian Man—Second letter relating to the Institution—Doctrinal queries respecting it—The archbishop's opinion of Confirmation—Outlines of further reformation—His earnest plea for the marriage of priests—Opinions on that subject—Other points considered previously to the Institution—The Institution itself.

The proclamations, articles, and injunctions which had lately been issued, having failed to exact general obedience, another exposition of doctrine, "plain and sincere," was directed by Henry to be formed. In this task the royal pen itself was again also employed, subject to the corrections of the archbishop. But before we introduce this second formulary of faith to especial notice, we are to behold the primate in his character as a civilian. There had now been great

[1] irregularities in marriages; some being incestuous, others contrary to law. The former had occasioned, about three years before, an Act of Parliament, in which was a table of degrees declaring what were the prohibitions by the Law of God to marry. To evade the force of the Act, dispensations for illegal contracts were sought from the archbishop. But they were refused. To his friend Cromwell who had solicited for a courtier, that had engaged himself to the niece of his deceased wife, a dispensation to fulfil the engagement, Cranmer, while he was alike unbending, thus stated his objection.

"[2] My very singular good lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas your lordship writeth to me in the favour of this bearer, Massey, an old servant to the king's Highness, that, being contracted to his sister's daughter of his late wife deceased, he might enjoy the benefit of a dispensation in that behalf; especially, considering it is none of the causes of prohibition contained in the statute; surely, my lord, I would gladly accomplish your request herein, if the Word of God would permit the same. And where you require me, that if I think this licence may not be granted by the Law

[1] Strype.

[2] Strype, from the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 5.

of God, then I should write unto you the reasons and authorities that move me so to think; that, upon declaration unto the king's Highness, you may confer thereupon with some other learned men, and so advertise me the king's further resolution. For shortness of time, I shall shew you one reason, which is this. By the Law of God many persons be prohibited, which be not expressed, but be understood, by like prohibition in equal degree. As St. Ambrose saith, that the niece is forbid by the Law of God, although it be not expressed in Leviticus, that the uncle shall not marry his niece. But where the nephew is forbid there, that he shall not marry his aunt, by the same is understood that the niece shall not be married unto her uncle. Likewise as the daughter is not there plainly expressed, yet where the son is forbid to marry his mother, it is understood that the daughter may not be married to her father; because they be of like degree. Even so it is in this case and many others. For where it is there expressed, that the nephew shall not marry his uncle's wife, it must needs be understood that the niece shall not be married unto the aunt's husband, because that also is one equality of degree. And although I could allege many reasons and authorities more for this purpose; yet I trust this one reason shall satisfy all that be learned, and of judgment.

"And as touching the Act of Parliament con-

cerning the degrees prohibited by God's Law, they be not so plainly set forth as I would they were. Wherein I somewhat spake my mind at the making of the said law, but it was not then accepted. I required then, that there must be expressed mother, and mother-in-law; daughter, and daughter-in-law; and so in further degrees directly upwards and downwards, *in linea recta*; also sister and sister-in-law, aunt and aunt-in-law, niece and niece-in-law. And this limitation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees prohibited by God's Law, expressed and not expressed; and should have satisfied this man, and such others which would marry their nieces-in-law.

"I have no news to send you from these parts; but I much long to hear such news as be concurrent with you. And therefore if you have any good news, I pray you to send me some. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the 7th day of September."

There was now another more important case of marriage, of which the king was desirous to have the archbishop's opinion, and commanded Cromwell to ask it of him. Strype could not discover whom the case concerned. I have found the answer of Cranmer to Cromwell upon the occasion; and it is no wonder that Henry was anxious to be resolved upon the points, the

parties being his natural son, the duke of Richmond, lately deceased, and the lord Norfolk's daughter.

The points were these:

I. Whether marriage contracted or solemnized in lawful age *per verba de præsenti*, and without consummation, be matrimony before God, or no.

II. Whether such matrimony be consummate, or no.

III. What the woman may thereupon demand by the Civil Law, after the death of her husband.

The following answer of the archbishop contains also an earlier notice of the Institution of a Christian Man, the book of doctrine now in preparation, than hitherto has been known.

"[1] My very singular good lord, after most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto your lordship that I have received both your letters, and the book also lately by us devised, and now overseen and corrected by the king's Majesty. Which book according to his Grace's pleasure, all other business laid apart, I shall with all possible expedition peruse and oversee within this sevennight or fortnight at the uttermost, and thereof advertise his Majesty by your lordship of my judgment and opinion in such places, as are in the same book by his Grace corrected.

"And as touching your further advertisement

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

of the king's most gracious pleasure to be resolved in the case of matrimony between the late duke of Richmond and my lord of Norfolk's daughter, wherein his Highness willeth me to call my doctors unto me, and to propone the same case among them, Whether such marriage be matrimony or no; I assure your lordship, that without further convocation of doctors I am fully persuaded that such marriages as be in lawful age contracted *per verba de præsenti* are matrimony before God. Howbeit I shall eftsoons [1] consult herein with such learned men as at this time be with me present, and send unto your lordship our resolution in the same. And if his Grace will have me further to consult therein, then I must send for other learned men, or else come to London myself.—At Ford, this xiiij.th day of January, [1537."]

After eleven days more, a second letter upon the subject of the Institution was dispatched by the primate to his friend, in which he says,[2] "as

[1] Strype says, without stating his authority, that Dr. Barbour only, an eminent civilian, was now with the archbishop; the letter states that there were more. Strype further relates, that in regard to the third point, the demands of the woman by the civil law, the primate professed his ignorance; but that he marvelled at the votes of a civil lawyer being required herein, seeing that all manner of causes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the same.

[2] Strype, Cleop. E. 5. ut supr.

concerning the book lately devised by me and other bishops of this realm, which you sent unto me corrected by the king's Highness, your lordship shall receive the same again by this bearer, the pursuivant, with certain annotations of mine concerning the same. Wherein I trust the king's Highness will pardon my presumption that I have been so scrupulous, and as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book, making a great matter of every little fault, or rather where no fault is at all. Which I do only for this intent; that because now the book shall be set forth by his Grace's censure and judgment, I would have nothing therein that Momus could reprehend. And I refer all my annotations again to his Grace's most exact judgment. And I have ordered my annotations so by numbers that his Grace may readily turn to every place. And in the lower margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find the numbers which shall direct him to the words whereupon I make the annotations. And all those his Grace's castigations, which I have made no annotations upon, I like them very well. And in divers places I have made annotations, which places nevertheless I mislike not, as shall appear by the same annotations."

Previously to the compilation of the Institution, the archbishop had offered to the king many important observations, both in order to meet

objections that now were brought against the recent Articles and Injunctions, and to suggest the correction of abuses that still prevailed. By the tenets, that without contrition sinners might be reconciled to God, that without priestly absolution the pardon of God was not to be obtained, and that in outward ceremonies much confidence might be[1] placed, he rightly considered that the people had been misled. He entertained the correct opinions too, that the clergy were not exempt from the secular judge, that great care should be taken in admitting persons into the ministry, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be faithfully employed, and the residence upon benefices strictly observed. These subjects he submitted to his sovereign, in the form of queries, closing them with a direct reference to the Articles in which three sacraments only are named, and now asking "[2] What were the external signs, and inward graces, of the sacraments of Confirmation, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction; what promises were made to the receivers of them by God; and of what efficacy and energy they were of themselves?" These questions were circulated among the commissioners, who were to form the new book of doctrines; and they evidently produced answers, which occasioned the introduction, into this book, of seven

[1] Burnet, vol. i. Addenda.

[2] Burnet, vol. i. Records to the Addenda, No. 2.

sacraments, as enumerated by the Church of Rome, although not without a declaration of inferior character belonging to the four named in the query of the archbishop. He indeed has left his own decision, as to the first of them, directly opposed to the belief of the Church of Rome.

I. "[1] There is no place, he says, in Scripture that declareth this sacrament of Confirmation to be instituted of Christ. First, for the places alleged for the same are no institutions, but acts and deeds of the Apostles. Secondly, these acts were done by a special gift given to the Apostles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time. Thirdly, the said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the Apostles.

II. "The Church useth *chrisma* for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

III. "The bishop, in the name of the Church, doth invocate the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed; so that the efficacy of the sacrament is of such value, as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the Church."

The replies of Stokesley, bishop of London, are the reverse to those of Cranmer. He was of that party, over which Stephen Gardiner pre-

[1] Burnet, ut suprà, No. 3.

sided, and by which various impediments were now raised against the views of Cromwell and the archbishop.

The latter had also at this time submitted to his sovereign the outlines of [1]further reformation, entreating him graciously to consider, and deeply to ponder, how no great thing is to be determined, principally in matters of Christ's religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation; how evil it has succeeded in provincial, yea, even in general councils, when men have proposed to set forth any thing as in the force of God's Law, without the manifest Word of God, or else without apparent reasons infallibly deduced out of the Word of God; and how all Christian countries were now full of learned men, who could well judge how things that be, or shall be, set forth, are agreeable to Scripture. He admits that unanimity of opinion is not to be expected. But he observes, that the variety of opinions had brought to light many truths, which had before been deemed heresies; in particular, the unlawfulness of the papal usurpation. There yet remain to exercise disputation, he adds, whether the Scripture teaches purgatory, or the invocation of dead saints; whether there are any unwritten verities necessary to be believed; whether there is any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ; whether freewill may dispose itself to grace; and

[1] Burnet, ut supr. No. 4.

whether images were to be used in any other way than his Majesty had declared in the Injunctions, that is, merely as historical representations.

But, above all, the archbishop is extremely solicitous, in this address, to defend the marriage of priests. It was now no secret that his wife resided under his roof. The public acknowledgment of her was what he anxiously desired. He tells the king, that not only men of the new learning, meaning the reformers, but also papistical authors, allowed that, by the Word of God, priests are not forbidden to marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment. He renews the subject, after the intervention of other topics, with the romantic proposal, as it were, of the knights of old in defence of the ladies of their heart; and is content to die, if he fails in his disputation to defend completely the subject proposed. The king was now meditating his proclamation against the marriage of priests, which the challenge of Cranmer, however, was ineffectual to prevent. "[1] Suspend your judgment for a time," he boldly says to Henry, "and determine not the marriage of priests to be against Scripture; but rather put both parties, the friends and the adversaries of the measure, to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor

[1] Burnet, ut supr.

openly to talk of it; or be pleased to grant that it may be openly disputed in both Universities, under impartial judges, before it be determined; all the arguments of the contrary party first to be delivered in writing to the defenders, twelve days before the disputation, to the intent they may the more deliberately make answer to the same; *and they, that shall enter as defenders into this disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their judges do decern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death, therefore.*" The archbishop leaves the adversaries to his wish, if they could not prove their purpose, merely to the disgrace of a defeat. For them while he desires no punishment, for others he only asks of the king the liberty which the Word of God allows. This subject, however, though interwoven by Cranmer with leading points for the Institution, was not proposed for preliminary discussion till the Six Articles were meditated. We shall then meet with it again.

But [1] another very important paper, signed by Cromwell, the archbishop, and other prelates and divines, upon the subject of ecclesiastical offices and duties, is believed to have preceded the publication of the new code. It distinguishes the power of the keys and the power of the sword. It declares the former not absolute, but to be

[1] Burnet, vol. i. Rec. Addend. No. 5.

limited by the rules of Scripture; and that, being enacted for general edification, it ought to be retained. It declared Orders, to be a sacrament, consisting of an outward sign and inward grace; and that the power and authority in question were committed by Christ and his Apostles to priests and bishops, whom they first elected, and then admitted by imposition of hands. This indeed is the substance of the exposition upon Orders in the Institution.

Before the Institution was completed, there had been much debate indeed, and many [1] written opinions offered. The plague also had interrupted the closing proceedings of the prelates and divines at the place of their usual meetings, Lambeth Palace, to the gates of which its havoc had reached. So Cranmer himself entreated Cromwell to inform the king, as late as in the [2] July of 1537. For the continuance of Romish usages and tenets Gardiner and Stokesley were the principal advocates; and they occasioned much of them to be retained. But the proclamation of good tidings, which Cranmer and his party proposed, their sophistry was unable to suppress; and therefore the Preface to the work,

[1] Burnet says that he had seen many of them, but that those which were signed were the opinions only of Cranmer and Stokesley upon Confirmation. See before, p. 188.

[2] Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. 52. Cranmer says, "persons died at his gate."

in particular, [1] encouraged the people to read the Scriptures, which they, who were opposed to the archbishop, loudly condemned. Perhaps Cranmer was content, while he was gaining his most essential point, that some concessions should be made to his antagonists. Perhaps the king, who often proceeded to annul what he had just confirmed, had resolved that the seven Sacraments, instead of the reduced number in the Articles, should now be authorized. But Justification, Baptism, the Eucharist, Penance, and Purgatory, were transferred from these Articles into the Institution without alteration. The remaining parts of the new formulary were expositions of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria. To the hopes of the reforming party encouragement was thus still largely given, and by their present labours a partial victory at least was won. "[2] The book is *chiefly* remarkable," a modern historian observes, "for the earnestness with which it refuses salvation to all persons out

[1] "We [the prelates and divines] considering the godly effect and intent of this your Highness's most virtuous and gracious commandment, do not only rejoice and give thanks unto Almighty God with all our hearts, that it hath pleased Him to send such a king to reign over us, which so earnestly mindeth to set forth among his subjects *the light of Holy Scripture, which alone sheweth men the right path to come to God, to see Him, to know Him, to love Him, and so to serve Him as He most desireth.*" Pref. to the Institution.

[2] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 355.

of the pale of the *Catholic* church." The learned writer should have added its definition of that Church, in which it was the *chief* object of the book to preserve the people; which indeed "[1] is Catholic, that is, not to be restrained within the limits or bonds of any one town, city, province, or region; but that it is dispersed and spread universally throughout all the whole world:—and therefore the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called, *the Catholic Church,* but only a particular member thereof, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right, and by the Word of God, to be head of this Universal Church, or to have any superiority over the other Churches of Christ which be in England, France, Spain, or in any other realm, but that they be all free from any subjection unto the said Church of Rome, or unto the minister or bishop of the same."

The book was repeatedly printed by Berthelet, the king's printer, within the year 1537. It was called the *Bishops' Book,* because many of them had been concerned in the production of it. The public title, which it bears, perhaps was borrowed from a former publication so called, the [2] *Christiani Hominis Institutum* of Erasmus, which dean Colet, himself employed in preparing the way

[1] Instit. The Creed, Art. 9.

[2] First printed at Rotterdam in 1518, afterwards in London 1520.

for the Reformation, had [1] requested him to compose for the children of his School at St. Paul's; and which, besides numerous copies of Latin hexameters on sacred subjects, contained "[2] instruction of the articles of the faythe and the x commandments in Inglishe." Cranmer would with pride adopt the title of a work, in which Erasmus had been concerned; which had been penned too at the desire of one, who, like himself, ventured to expose superstition, and resolved to forward sound instruction.

Strype relates, as from lord Herbert, that another book, also called the *Bishops' Book*, was now published. Herbert means no other than the Institution: "[3] The king," he says, "hastened the publishing of a declaration, called the *Bishops' Book*, signed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and nineteen other bishops, wherein is alleged out of ancient histories and councils, how many hundred years had passed before the pope took on him the superiority over other bishops, and that it was contrary to the oath given when any of them enters the papacy;" all which, as well as what follows upon the subject by the noble historian, will be found in the sacrament of Orders illustrated in the Institution.

[1] Knight, Life of Colet, 361.

[2] Ibid. 364.

[3] Hen. VIII. ed. 1649. 390.

CHAPTER X.

1537.

Employments of the archbishop while the Institution was in progress—Of the council at Mantua—The bishop of Rome's name not erased from many of the liturgical books—Coverdale on the same subject—The Church-service—Calumnies both against the king and the archbishop—The archbishop watches the proceedings of a monk at Canterbury—Intercedes for a remuneration to one who had suffered by the pilgrimage of grace—Reduces the number of proctors—Receives a dedication from Bucer—Bibles of 1537—Cranmer's letters.

THE Institution had certainly engrossed much of Cranmer's time. But while that formulary was in progress, other circumstances, in aid of the Reformation, shared a considerable portion of it. He had readily [1] sanctioned the king's determination to protest against a general council intended to be held at Mantua, which, it was conjectured, might pretend to censure the progress of the

[1] See the king's protest, and the determination of the prelates and divines, against that council, in Collier, ii. 128.

Reformation in this country. He had probably suggested to his sovereign the duty of following the [1] example of the German Protestants by declaring that the pontiff had no right to summon a general council, nor as sole judge to decide controversies in religion. The king thus supported by his primate, and many other prelates and divines, at once annihilated the project of the Court of Rome.

Cranmer had also found, at this time, that, in the liturgical books at Croydon, the name of the bishop of Rome yet designedly remained; and he considered himself obliged "[2] to discharge the parish-priest of his service." A chantry-priest of the same place still neglected to remove the pontiff's name. "[3] Whether this," he writes to Cromwell, "be a maintenance of the bishop of Rome's authority, or no, I will not determine, but remit the matter wholly to your good lordship; yet in the mean season I have called him before me, and have taken certain honest men which be bound that he shall be ready at all times to come before the king's council, there to make answer to

[1] Herbert, ed. 1649. 425.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster. This person was probably the "vicar of Croydon," of whom Strype speaks as having offended the archbishop, either (he supposes) on account of speaking or preaching to the disparagement of the regal, or in favour of the papal, supremacy.

[3] Orig. MS. ut supr.

all such things as shall be laid to his charge concerning the same." This kind of resistance to the Injunctions of the king appears to have been not uncommon. Coverdale communicated to Cromwell, "[1] that in the great matin books at Newbury, and I doubt not," he adds, "but it is so likewise in many churches more, there is plainly a maintenance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, which I wonder at, considering it is so long since the Act was made for the abolishing all that authority."

The church-service, in a more extensive way, now also seems to have occupied the attention of Cranmer. In this employment he was assisted by the chaplain of Cromwell, Mr. Malet, who had been sent for this purpose by the royal vicar-general to the residence of the archbishop in Kent. "[2] I left him at Ford," the archbishop writes to Cromwell, "according to your lordship's assignment, occupied in the affairs of our church-service; and now, at the writing up of what he

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster. Coverdale, in another original letter to Cromwell, complains of "an innumerable sort of such popish books as not only be incorrect, but are also great occasion to keep the king's subjects still in error;" and he desires authority from the vicar-general to have such books brought to him, "not doubting but to win the parties, and to make them not only more fervent towards God and His Word, but also to increase in due obedience towards the king's Highness."

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

had to do, he is come hither to me at Croydon to know my further pleasure and commandment in that behalf. I shall beseech you, my lord, that, after his duty done in seeing your lordship, he may repair to me again, with speed, for furtherance and finishing of that we have begun. For I like his diligence and pains in this business, and his honest humanity declared in my house for the season of his being therein, so well, that I can be bold so to commend him to your lordship, that I shall with all my heart beseech you to declare your favour and goodness to him by helping his small and poor living. I know he hath very little growing towards the supporting of his necessaries, which is much pity, his good qualities, right judgment in learning, and discreet wisdom considered." Such were the men whom Cranmer loved to associate with himself in the labour of reformation.

Nor had he been now regardless of calumnies that were uttered against his sovereign. He accordingly informed Cromwell, while he reminds him "[1] that one of those seditious persons which had spread false reports of the king had been punished at Canterbury, another was now punished at Sandwich, and a third, who was a priest, yet remained to be disgraced at Ashford the next market-day." But about this time he wrote to

[1] Original MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

the king himself, informing his Majesty that he was accused as a tyrant and oppressor, but by one whose melancholy condition was to be pitied, and whose predestinarian tenets had been in vain attempted, by the interference of the archbishop, to be shaken.

"[1] Please it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that, upon Friday last passed, one, called John Mills of Chevening, opened a book in the church, wherein he found this schedule, *Rex, tanquam tyrannus, opprimit populum suum.* Then the said John Mills called two or three of his neighbours to him, and consulted whose hand the writing should be; — they suspected one Sir Thomas Baschurch, priest, some time secretary to the bishop of Canterbury, my predecessor, whom I suppose your Grace doth know. This same day the said Sir Thomas of his own mind came to the foresaid John Mills, and confessed the schedule to be of his making and writing.

"Here I have shewed unto your Grace the said Sir Thomas's fact and confession, according as by mine allegiance and oath I am bounden; and if it please the same to hear also some of his qualities, I shall inform your Grace partly as I know, and partly as I am informed.

"At April next coming it shall be three years

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

since the said Sir Thomas fell into despair, and thereby into a sickness so that he was in peril of death. Of this sickness, within a quarter of a year after, he recovered, but saith he is assured that he shall be perpetually damned. My chaplains, and divers other learned men, have [1] reasoned with him, but no man can bring him to other opinion but that he, like unto Esau, was created unto damnation; and hath divers times, and sundry ways, attempted to kill himself; but by diligent looking unto he hath hitherto been preserved.—From Knowle, the xviij[th] day of January."

Of slanders also against himself he had now been compelled to a notice, which occasioned a dialogue of some merriment at the expence of the present slanderer, but at the same time released him from the fear of punishment he had been led to conceive. The absurd story, now that Cranmer had so much influence with the king, of his being the hostler at the Dolphin, was [2] revived. A priest, in the north of England, hearing the commendations of the archbishop that

[1] Cranmer was ever opposed to the wretched doctrine of an absolute irrespective predestination.

[2] The following relation is drawn from the narrative of the archbishop's secretary, Ralph Morice, preserved among the MSS. of C. C. C. Camb. and printed at the close of Strype's Life of Cranmer.

now reached the remotest parts of the kingdom, observed to others who were delighted with them, "Why make ye so much of him? He was but a hostler, and hath as much learning as the goslings of the green that go yonder." To Cromwell these words were reported by those who resented them. The priest, in consequence, was summoned before the Council in London, but not at the suit, nor at the time with the knowledge, of the archbishop. He had to ponder upon his folly some weeks in the prison of the Fleet; and then he besought Cranmer to release him from his confinement, and the charges occasioned by it, not without acknowledging his sorrow for the unjust language he had used. Cranmer therefore sent for him, and the dialogue commenced. "Did you ever see me before this day?" said the archbishop. "No," the priest replied. "Why then did you mean to deface me among your neighbours by calling me a hostler, and reporting that I have no more learning than a gosling?" The priest answered, "that he was overseen with drink." "Well then," continued Cranmer, "oppose me now to know what learning I have: begin in grammar, if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity." "Pardon me," said the bewildered ecclesiastic, "I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but merely in English." "Then allow me," replied Cranmer, "If you will not oppose me, to oppose

you. You read the Bible?"—"Yes, daily."—"Then, who was David's father?"—"I cannot surely tell your Grace."—"Then, if you cannot tell me that, yet tell me who was Solomon's father?" "I am nothing at all seen in these genealogies," the priest finally replied. Cranmer now reminded him of the crew to which he belonged, "who knew nothing, and would know nothing, but sit on an ale-bench, and slander all honest and learned men." He dismissed him to his cure, bidding him learn to be an honest, or at least a reasonable, man; and not to suppose his sovereign so absurd as to have sent a hostler on an embassy to an emperor and to the bishop of Rome. Cromwell had urged the archbishop to severer measures. I expected, said he, that this priest should have recanted at Paul's Cross. To another ecclesiastic, who had been imprisoned by Cromwell for a similar offence, the lenity of the archbishop also was shewn, in desiring that he might be released, although he concealed not the contempt in which he held the slanders of such persons: "[1] for surely of all sorts of men I am daily informed, that *priests report the worst of me:* And therefore so to be reported of by a priest, it should very little grieve me."

The monk of Canterbury, whom he considered as a secret agent of the pontiff, and of whom he

[1] Lansdowne MSS. 1045. No, 53.

had before written to Cromwell, now also again awakened his suspicion. "[1] I wrote to you," he reminds his friend, "about this time twelvemonth, [in August 1536,] of Robert Anthony, of Christ's Church, declaring that he had run away, and had left a very suspicious letter in his chamber to the prior of the house; and now he hath been long out of the realm without the king's licence, and as I am informed at Rome: he is now come home unto Christ's Church again. And since his coming, as I hear say by such persons as both favour God's Word and the king's Majesty there, the prior hath called a chapter, and hath admitted him again into the convent as he was before; which in my opinion is not well done, unless he had been first examined by some of the Council *where he hath been, and upon what occasion he so departed.* Therefore as a thing appertaining unto my duty towards my sovereign lord, I thought it expedient to advertise you thereof, to the intent his Highness may have knowledge of the same. And of this I am sure, that I had letters from a scholar beyond the seas, which met him in a company going toward Rome; but whether he hath been there or no, I am not sure."

Whatever he considered as tending to uphold the papal cause he was thus anxious to crush. Exertions, destructive of that cause, he was now

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

also eager to reward. The property, which belonged to the monasteries already suppressed, he had seen bestowed on royal favourites, without any especial claim on their behalf. "[1] In this early distribution of monastic opulence," it has been acutely observed, "there was something of policy. Cromwell recommended, that by means of numerous grantees a party should be formed, interested in the dissolution, strong enough to render hopeless any prospect of returning monkery. This shrewd advice was sufficiently agreeable to Henry's habits and inclinations." Not for one of such, however, was an application made by Cranmer. But for one who had been an officer of his household, who had long been active in promoting the Protestant cause, and who had sustained great loss by refusing to join the rebellious Pilgrimage of Grace, he did apply. He appears not, however, to have obtained "the small preferment" as he calls it, for which he asked, which consisted of lands belonging to a priory at [2] Pomfret about to be dissolved. But thus he wrote to Cromwell. "[3] Divers times I have been desirous and minded to sue unto the king's Majesty for some preferment for John

[1] Soames, Hist. Ref. ii. 293.

[2] There was both a Cluniac and a Dominican priory at Pomfret, and other religious houses. I cannot find the assignment of any of them to the person named in Cranmer's letter.

[3] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

Wakefield, gentleman, comptroller of my household, a man of good judgment and affection towards God's Word, which I have known him for the space of these xij years always ready to promote in his country, not rashly, nor seditiously, but gently and soberly; so that his own country could neither greatly hate him, nor love him. They could not hate him for his kindness and gentleness being ready to do every man good as much as in his power was. And yet they could not heartily love him, because he ever commended the knowledge of God's Word, studied it himself diligently, and exhorted them unto the same; and spake many times against the abusions of the clergy, for which he had all the hate that most of the clergy could procure against him. And partly for his sincere mind which he beareth towards God's Word, partly for his true and faithful heart which he hath borne towards his prince and such things as from time to time his Highness hath set forth, and specially in this [1] last commotion in the north parts, forsomuch as he so unfeignedly declared his true and faithful allegiance unto the king's Highness, refusing the confederacy of the Lord Darcy and others gathered together into the castle of Pomfret, which lord Darcy had [2] trained him thither, as

[1] In 1536.

[2] Drawn him by stratagem or artifice.

further your lordship shall perceive by the said lord Darcy's letters herein enclosed; and yet that notwithstanding after that my said comptroller by communication, had with the said lord Darcy, had perceived that there was no towardness of fidelity in him, he withdrew himself out of the said castle to his great jeopardy, and loss of all his goods, which at that time were specially spoiled, because he was so unobedient unto their minds; for the which spoil of goods he hath been partly recompensed by my lord of Norfolk, but not in comparison to his loss: I say, therefore, for this cause of his vexation and other the premisses, I was many times minded to sue for his preferment, saving that hitherto I saw nothing meet for his commodity.

"And now forsomuch as I am informed that the priory of Pomfret shall be surrendered unto the king's Grace's hands, and that both the situation and the demesne lands of that house lie very commodiously for him, specially in the town where he dwelleth; these shall be to beseech your lordship to be so good lord unto him, as to be a mean unto the king's Majesty that he may have the preferment of the said priory with the demesnes in farm, doing in that behalf as any other will do for the king's Grace's advantage. It is for no man so meet as for him. And I think there will be but small suit for it, by reason that

the lands are valued to the uttermost, and not only lie in tillage, saving certain pasture for the maintenance of the tilth, but also no common pasture, nor woods, belonging to the same; for the which cause also my said comptroller would not sue, saving that it lieth so near him; beseeching your lordship that if hereafter he espy any better thing in the country, that he may have your favour therein. And I doubt not in this his small preferment but that his neighbours shall perceive, that the king's Majesty doth not forget those that bear his Grace their true hearts and fidelity. If your lordship would be so good as to shew these my letters unto the king's Majesty, declaring the consideration thereof, I trust his Highness will gladly help his faithful subjects, if his Grace have information of them; and except his Grace be informed of them, he cannot help the trusty subjects he hath."

Strype considers the archbishop as employed, about this time, (1537,) in reducing the number of proctors in his Court of Arches. These learned persons were then said to be so famous for their [1] noise as well as number, that no eloquence in pleading, no sagacity in giving judgment, could

[1] "Complaints were made of their clamorousness, by reason of the plenty of them, that neither advocates nor judges could be heard." Strype.

possibly be distinguished; the Court, like the hall of Chaos, resounding only with

> ——— "a universal hubbub wild
> Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd."

Who wonders at the endeavour of the primate, always calm, slow, and circumspect, that the tempest of words might at least be moderated? He therefore directed that the number of proctors should be limited to ten. His decision, however, was afterwards altered; but the canons of James the first, which define the duties belonging to proctors, still enjoin them, in remembrance of the olden anarchy, "[1] not to be clamorous in Court."

The authority and influence of the archbishop now also excited the hopes as well as the admiration of the German reformers. The dedication to him, in this year, of a [2] work by Martin Bucer, testifies these feelings. It tells him "that all men proclaimed him endowed with a mind worthy of the archbishop and primate of so great a kingdom, and so disposed to the glory of Christ; that he had so attained to this high estate in Christ by his spiritual wisdom, holiness of life, and most ardent zeal to render Christ's glory more illustrious; that gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the sheep, being indeed dispersed

[1] Constitutions and Canons Ecc. 133.

[2] His Metaphrasis et Enarratio upon the Epistle to the Romans. "Te omnes prædicant, &c." Ded. Strype.

and scattered abroad, he had always sought and saved that which was lost, and brought back Christ's sheep to his fold, and to the pastures of everlasting life, when they had been before most miserably harassed by the servants of superstition, and the emissaries of the Roman tyranny." Then referring to the abolition, in this kingdom, of the papal supremacy, he excites the primate to further reformation, by saying "how easy it would be for him and other prelates, who were endued with the spirit and zeal of Christ, to retain, from the remainders of the ecclesiastical administration, what might contribute to the true satisfaction of the conscience, to the sound instruction of youth, and to the just discipline and polity of the Church."

But above all the year 1537 was distinguished by the publication of the Bible, for the corrected version of which the archbishop had exerted himself, in assigning to the care of the prelates and others respective portions of the sacred volume. It is sometimes called the first authorized English Bible. But that of Coverdale in 1535 seems not to have wanted royal authority. The [1] present

[1] The name of Thomas Matthewe is stated as the translator of this Bible, but it was a name merely assumed, in order that prejudice might not be formed against the translation, if the names of Tindal who had not long before been burnt as a pretended heretic, and of Coverdale whose labours the Roman Catholics undervalued, were used.

translation, generally speaking, is partly that of Tindal, and partly of Coverdale. To the great satisfaction of Cranmer it issued from the press in July or August. Immediately he sent it to Cromwell, entreating him to present it to the king, and to procure the royal licence for it.

It was on the fourth of August that Cranmer transmitted to the vicar-general the first copy with the following letter, which hitherto has been unpublished.

"[1] These shall be to signify unto your lordship, that you shall receive, by the bringer hereof, a Bible in English, both of a new translation, and of a new print, dedicated unto the king's Majesty, as further appeareth by an epistle unto his Grace in the beginning of the Book, which in mine opinion is very well done; and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there may, and will be, found some faults therein, as you know no man ever did, or can do, so well but it may be, from time to time, amended. And forsomuch as the Book is dedicated unto the king's Grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth the same, I pray you, my lord, that you will ex-

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

hibit the Book unto the king's Highness, and to obtain of his Grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold, and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation, or Ordinance, heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday. And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's Word as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs, many slanders, lies and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether. And the same Word, as St. John saith, which shall judge every man at the last day, must needs shew favour to them that now do favour it. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the iiijth day of August."

Cromwell acceded to the request; and the archbishop thus expressed his gratitude.

"[1] My very singular good lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I understand, that your lordship at my request hath not only exhibited the Bible, which I sent unto you, to the king's Majesty, but also hath obtained of his Grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought

[1] From the Cotton MSS. Strype.

and read within this realm; my lord, for this your pains, taken in this behalf, I give you my most hearty thanks; assuring your lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure here, than if you had given me a thousand pounds; and I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear, hereafter, what high and excellent service you have done unto God and the king. Which shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God's reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same. And I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my [1] lord of Worcester. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the xiii day of August."

After fifteen days more he again addressed his friend "[2] to give you," he says, "the most hearty thanks that any heart can think, and that in the name of them which favour God's Word, for your diligence at this time, in procuring the king's Highness to set forth the said God's Word, and his Gospel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not only the king's Majesty, but also you, shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's

[1] Hugh Latimer. [2] Cotton MSS. ut supr. Strype.

faithful people, and the favourers of His Word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened, and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the said Gospel, that whosoever shrinketh from Him and His Word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, he will refuse him at that day; and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess Him and His Word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day before His Father and all His angels, and take upon Him the defence of those men."

Grafton, who in conjunction with Whitchurch had undertaken this edition, was led to inform Cromwell not only of the great expence in procuring fifteen hundred copies of it to be printed, but of impediments raised against the sale of it by reports that it was not licensed, and that it would be printed in a cheaper form.

"[1] Most humbly beseeching your lordship to understand, that according to your request, I have sent your lordship six Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myself, but because of the sickness which remaineth in the city; and therefore I have sent them by my servant, which this

[1] Cotton MSS. ut supr. Strype.

day came out of [1] Flanders. Requiring your lordship, if I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains; for which the Heavenly Father is bound, even of His justice, to reward you with the everlasting kingdom of God. For your lordship's moving our most gracious prince to the allowance, and licensing, of such a work hath wrought such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in any chronicle in this realm; and, as my lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than the gift of 1000*l.*, yet certain there are which believe not, that it pleased the king's Grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore if your lordship's pleasure were such that we might have it licensed under your Privy Seal, it would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same. And forasmuch as this request is for the maintenance of the Lord's Word, which is to maintain the Lord Himself, I fear not, but that your lordship will be earnest therein. And I am assured that my lords of Canterbury, Worcester, and [2] Salisbury, will give your lordship such thanks, as in them lieth. And sure you may be, that the Heavenly Lord will reward you for the establishment of His glorious truth. And what

[1] This Bible is believed to have been printed at Hamburgh.
[2] Shaxton.

your lordship's pleasure is in this request, if it may please your lordship to inform my servant, I and all that love God heartily are bound to pray for your preservation all the days of our life. At London the xxviii day of this present month of August, 1537.

"Your orator while he liveth,

RICHARD GRAFTON, [1] Grocer."

The second address of this memorable printer soon followed.

"[2] Most humbly beseeching your lordship to understand, that, according as your commission was by my servant to send you certain Bibles, so have I now done, desiring your lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I writ unto your lordship for a Privy Seal to be a defence unto the enemies of this Bible, I understand that your lordship's mind is, that I shall not need it. But now, most gracious lord, forasmuch as this work hath been brought forth to our most great and costly labours and charges; which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be printed to the sum of fifteen hundred books complete; which now by reason

[1] He was a citizen of the grocers' company, in London.

[2] Cotton MSS. ut supr. Strype, Append. No. 20.

that of many this work is highly commended; there are that will and doth go about the printing of the same work again in a lesser letter; to the intent that they may sell their little books better cheap than I can sell these great; and so to make that I shall sell none at all, or else very few, to the utter undoing of me your orator, and of all those my creditors, that hath been my comforters and helpers therein. And now this work, thus set forth with great study and labours, shall such persons, moved with a little covetousness, to the undoing of others for their own private wealth, take as a thing done to their hands. In which [be] half the charges shall not come to them, that hath done to your poor orator. And yet shall not they do it as they find it, but falsify the text; that, I dare say, look how many sentences are in the Bible, even so many faults and errors shall be made therein. For their seeking is not to set it out to God's glory, and to the edifying of Christ's congregation, but for covetousness. And that may appear by the former Bibles, that they have set forth; which hath neither good paper, letters, ink, nor correction. And even so shall they corrupt this work, and wrap it up after their fashions, and then may they sell it for nought at their pleasures. Yea, and to make it more truer then it is, therefore Dutchmen, dwelling within this realm, go about the printing of it; which can neither speak good English, nor yet write none.

And they will be both the printers and correctors thereof. Because of a little covetousness, they will not bestow twenty or forty pounds to a learned man to take pains in it, to have it well done.

"It were therefore, as your lordship doth evidently perceive, a thing unreasonable to permit, or suffer, them which now hath no such business, to enter into the labours of them, that hath had both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And the truth is this, that if it be printed by any other, before these be sold, which I think shall not be these three years at the least, then am I, your poor orator, utterly undone.

"Therefore by your most godly favour, if I may obtain the king's most gracious privilege, that none shall print them until these be sold, which at the least shall not be these three years, your lordship shall not find me unthankful, but that to the uttermost of my power I will consider it. And I dare say, that so will my lord of Canterbury, with other my most special friends. And at the last God will look upon your merciful heart, that considereth the undoing of a poor young man. For truly my whole living lieth hereupon. Which if I may have sale of them, not being hindered by any other men, it shall be my making and wealth, and the contrary is my undoing. Therefore most humbly I beseech your lordship to be my helper herein, that I may obtain

this my request. Or else, if by no means this privilege may be had, as I have no doubt through your help it shall; and seeing men are so desirous to be printing of it again, to my utter undoing as aforesaid; that yet forasmuch as it hath pleased the king's Highness to license this work to go abroad; and that it is the most pure Word of God which teacheth all true obedience, and reproveth all schisms and contentions; and [that] the lack of this Word of the Almighty God is the cause of all blindness and superstition: It may therefore be commanded by your lordship in the name of our most gracious prince, that every curate have one of them, that they may learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners; yea, and that every abbey should have six, to be laid in six several places, that the whole convent, and the resorters thereunto, may have occasion to look on the Lord's Law. Yea, I would none other, but they of the papistical sort, should be obliged to have them. And then I know there should be enough found in my lord of London's diocese to spend away a great part of them. And so should this be a godly act, worthy to be had in remembrance, while the world doth stand.

"And I know that a small commission will cause my lord of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Worcester, to cause it to be done through their diocese; yea, and this should cease the whole schism and contention that is in the realm; which

is, some calling them of the [1] *old* [learning,] and some of the *new*. Now should we all follow one God, one Book, and one Learning. And this is hurtful to no man, but profitable to all men.

"I will trouble your lordship no longer, for I am sorry I have troubled you so much. But to make an end, I desire your most gracious answer by my servant. For the sickness is [2] brime about us, or else I would wait upon your lordship. And, because of coming to your lordship, I have not suffered my servant with me since he came over. Thus for your continual preservation I, with all that truly love God, do most heartily pray that you may overcome all your adversaries of the papistical sort.

"Your orator, RICHARD GRAFTON."

But while Grafton thus applied that none but himself should print this edition of the Bible for three years; that of Coverdale, which had been

[1] Latimer, in his pithy manner, thus distinguishes in 1536 the Romish and the reforming party. To the former he says: "Ye say, it [the Gospel] is *new learning*. Now I tell you [as one of the latter] it is the *old learning*. Yea, ye say it is old heresy new scoured. Now I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured." Serm. 21. Sund. after Trinity.—A treatise entitled, "A Comparison between the Old Learning and the New," was printed both in 1537 and 1538.

[2] Raging, severe.

published in 1535, was now again in 1537 twice issued from the press of James Nicholson, and with the royal licence. In behalf of this printer, both on account of his Bibles and of [1] other books printed by our reformers, Coverdale soon afterwards wrote to Cromwell, not without specifying a sanction that had been given by Cranmer, which induces me to copy the letter.

"[2] After due commendation to your good lordship, I heartily and in most humble wise beseech the same, that inasmuch as the king's most excellent Majesty of his singular grace by the means of your good lordship, as God's instrument in that behalf, hath granted unto this bearer, James Nicholson, his gracious licence and privilege for the sale of his [3] Bibles and New Testaments already printed; and forasmuch as his Grace is also informed, and hath seen a part of [4] our postils

[1] Ames and Herbert, in their Typographical Antiquities, describe many of them.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[3] His Bible was twice printed in 1537; and there were also two impressions of his New Testament, in Latin and English, in 1538.

[4] Nicholson printed a separate Latin sermon of Latimer in 1537, and in the same year Luther's exposition of the 23d Psalm translated by Coverdale. Other expositions of Scripture in that and the following year issued from his press. Ames. Herbert.

or ordinary sermons, *which the lord archbishop of Canterbury hath corrected;* your lordship, according to your most loving and favourable manner of old, will help and further the said James Nicholson to the king's most gracious privilege for certain years to print the same, considering the cost and charge that he hath had not only for drawing of the said sermons out of Scriptures, but also in preparing now of his letters and prints for the setting forth of the same. This I most humbly require of your lordship, whom God preserve now and ever. Amen.

"Your lordship's humble and daily orator,

"MILES COVERDALE."

The joy of Cranmer which we have witnessed at the publication of the Bible, in 1537, was, however, not the only communication he then made to Cromwell. He sent at the same time to the vicar-general some account of a recent visitation of his diocese. In the letter he scruples not to notice a violation, in the king's own house, of the king's injunctions; and fearlessly declares the danger of the example. Perhaps to the sovereign himself the days that had claimed the veneration of some ridiculous relic, or the idolatrous worship of some pretended saint, were still welcome. The archbishop, by his contemptuous neglect both of the vigil and the festival of Becket, had already shewn how determined he was to

suppress these mischievous absurdities. In this spirit he now wrote to Cromwell.

"[1] These shall be to advertise your lordship, that since my last coming from London into Kent, I have found the people of my diocese very obstinately given to observe and keep with solemnity the holy days lately abrogated. Whereupon I have punished divers of the offenders; and to divers I have given gentle monition to amend. But inasmuch as by examination I have perceived, that the people were partly animated thereto by their curates, I have given strict commandment and injunction unto all the parsons and vicars within my diocese, upon pain of deprivation of their benefices, that they shall not only, on their behalf, cause the said holy days, so abrogated, from time to time not to be observed within their cures; but also shall from henceforth present to me such persons of their parishes, as will practise in word or deed contrary to that ordinance or any other, which is, or hereafter shall be, set forth by the king's Grace's authority for the redress, or ordering, of the doctrine or ceremonies of this Church of England. So that now I suppose through this means all disobedience, and contempt, of the king's Grace's acts and ordi-

[1] Strype, from the Cott. MSS. Append. No. xix.

nances in this behalf shall be clearly avoided in my diocese hereafter. Not doubting also, but if every bishop in this realm had commandment to do the same in their diocese, it would avoid both much disobedience and contention in this said realm. I would fain, that all the enmity and grudge of the people in this matter should be put from the king and his Council; and that we, who be ordinaries, should take it upon us. Or else I fear lest a grudge against the prince and his Council, in such causes of religion, should gender in many of the people's hearts a faint subjection and obedience. [1] *But, my lord, if in the Court you do keep such holy days and fasting days as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping of them? For the king's own house shall be an example unto all the realm to break his own ordinances.*—At Ford, the xxviij[th] day of August, [1537.]"

These exertions of the archbishop could not but afford great encouragement to the reforming party. To the expectations of that party the birth of Edward in the following October was also considered favourable. It at least de-

[1] The sentence in Italics was written by the archbishop himself: the preceding part by his secretary. Strype. The delicacy in thus conveying the reproof is very observable.

pressed the hope of their opponents, that Mary would be the immediate successor of Henry. To Edward, as he had been to Elizabeth, the archbishop is now [1] said to have been a godfather.

Burnet.

CHAPTER XI.

1538.

Visitation of the see of Hereford, and Injunctions to the clergy, by Cranmer—The Bible of 1537 *gladly received—the edition of Cranmer's Bible, as that of* 1539, *is called, commenced at Paris—The history of it—The original letters of Coverdale and Grafton on the subject—The New Testament of Coverdale—Coverdale's letter in behalf of Regnault, the French printer—Taverner's Bible of* 1539—*Cranmer's original letter to Cromwell relating to the price of the Great Bible in* 1540, *and to his own Preface.*

In the summer of 1538, the church of Hereford being then vacant, the archbishop by commission to Dr. Curwen, prebendary of that church, visited the see. The clergy of the diocese he [1] enjoined to teach moral duty; to allow no young persons to receive the sacrament of the altar who had not first recited in the vulgar tongue, before the congregation, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten

[1] Burnet. The Injunctions, vol. i. B. 3. Rec. No. xii. They should precede the Injunctions of Cromwell, No. xi. Ibid. Those of the archbishop having been issued in the summer, those of Cromwell not before September. Stow, 972.

Commandments; and to suffer no intrusion of friars or other unlicensed ecclesiastics into their cures or churches. In regard to the Holy Scriptures, he directed them to procure by the first of August a whole Bible in Latin or English, or at least a New Testament in both languages; to study every day one chapter in them, conferring the English and Latin together; and to encourage the laity for the reformation of their lives, and the knowledge of their duty, to read the same in either language. The royal declaration, to be read publicly by the clergy, that the Bible was thus open to all, had now been issued. "It was wonderful," says Strype, "to see with what joy this Book of God was received, not only among the learned and those who were noted lovers of the Reformation, but generally all over England, among all the common people; and with what greediness the Word of God was read, and what resort there was to the places for reading it. Every one, that could, bought the book, and busily read it, or heard it read; and many elderly persons learnt to read on purpose." But "[1] the setting forth of this Book," one who witnessed it observes, "did not a little offend Gardiner and his fellow-bishops both for the prologues, and especially because there was a table in the Book chiefly about the Lord's Supper, the Marriage of

[1] Foxe.

Priests, and the Mass, which there was said not to be found in Scripture." [1] Without the prologues which are Tindal's, and without his notes as well as those of others, in the Bible of 1537, Cranmer agreed to a new impression of the sacred volume. The Bible of Matthewe was now revised. Many alterations were made in the translation; and of the whole Coverdale was the chief overseer. Coverdale too [2] accompanied Grafton to Paris, where the skill of printing was greater, and where paper was better as well as cheaper, than in England, in order to complete the magnificent volume. But the jealousy of the Romanists had planned an entire destruction of it. At the commencement of their labour, indeed, Grafton and Coverdale expressed their fears of this hostility. We will hear them in their own words; and subjoin other important letters which they, as well as the archbishop, addressed to Cromwell upon the progress and completion of the work. These are new and interesting appendages to the history of this remarkable edition.

From the French king Henry himself requested, and obtained, the permission for Coverdale and

[1] Bale seems to have considered this removal as effected by the power of the Romish party: "Already have they taken in England," he says, "from the Bibles, the annotations, tables, and prefaces, &c." Image of both Churches, p. 2. sign. f. i. b.

[2] Foxe. Burnet.

Grafton to proceed. Not long after their arrival at Paris, they submitted to Cromwell, with specimens of the intended impression, the following account.

"[1] After most humble and hearty commendations to your good lordship, pleaseth the same to understand that we be entered into your work of the Bible; whereof, according to our most bounden duty, we have sent unto your lordship ij ensamples, one in parchment, wherein we intend to print one for the king's Grace, and another for your lordship; and the second in paper, whereof all the rest shall be made; trusting that it shall be not only to the glory of God, but a singular pleasure also to your good lordship the cause thereof, and a general edifying of the king's subjects, according to your lordship's most godly request. For [2] we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee, and the Greek; but we set also in a private table the diversity of readings of all texts, with such [3] annotations in another table as shall

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[2] Compare the Prologue to this Bible, as given by Lewis, Eng. Transl. of the Bible, 1739, p. 125, seq. which only shews how far they were allowed to follow their own plan; the letter, now given, how curtailed that plan has been.

[3] The Prologue to the printed Bible, however, states, "we have added many hands both in the margin of this volume and

doubtless dilucidate and clear the same, as well without any singularity of opinions as all checkings and reproofs.

"The print no doubt shall please your good lordship. The paper is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great, wherein as we most humbly require your favourable help, at this present, with whatsoever it shall please your good lordship to let us have, so trust we, if need require, in our most business, *to be defended from the papists* by your lordship's favourable letters, which we desire to have (by this bearer William Grey) either to the [1] bishop of Winchester, or to some other whom your lordship shall think most expedient. *We be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal,* as this bearer can further inform your lordship; *but how they will use us, as yet we know not.* Nevertheless for our further assurance, wherethrough we may be abler to perform this your lordship's work, we are so much the bolder of your good lordship; for other refuge have we none under God, and our king, whom with noble prince Edward, and all you

also in the text, *upon the which we proposed to have made in the end of the Bible, in a table by themselves, certain godly annotations; but, forsomuch as yet there hath not been sufficient time ministered to the king's most honourable Council for the oversight and correction of the said annotations, we will therefore omit them till their more convenient leisure.*"

[1] Gardiner, then perhaps at Paris.

their most honourable Council, God Almighty preserve now and ever. Amen. Written at Paris, the xxiij day of June, by your lordship's

"Assured and daily orators,

"MILES COVERDALE,

"RICHARD GRAFTON, Grocer."

But as yet they were not impeded. Their progress in less than two months more had been considerable, and thus they reported it.

"[1] After most humble and due salutation to your good lordship, pleaseth the same to understand that your work going forward, we thought it our most bounden duty to send unto your lordship certain leaves thereof.—And as they are done, so will we send to your lordship the residue from time to time.

"As touching the [2] manner and order that we keep in the same work, pleaseth your good lordship to be advertised that this mark ☞ in the

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[2] This account is much more full and interesting than what the Prologue in Lewis states. These marks and hands alone excited the jealousy of the Romish party so much at home, as afterwards, when that party was more in favour with the king than now, to occasion Grafton to be imprisoned for a few weeks, having been asked to what purpose the notes were designed, and having answered that he had no other than to have retained, if it might have been, learned persons to make them according to their judgment. Foxe.

text signifieth that upon the same, in the latter end of the Book, there is some notable annotation which we have written, without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrew for the more clearness of the text. This mark ‡ betokeneth that upon the same text there is diversity of reading among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks and Latinists, as in a table at the end of the Book shall be declared. This mark * sheweth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but in the Latin, and seldom in the Greek, and that we nevertheless would not have it extinct, but highly accept it for the more explanation of the text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth to understand that the same text which followeth it, is also alleged [by] Christ or some Apostle in the New Testament. This, among our other necessary labours, is the way that we take in this work, trusting verily that as God Almighty moved your lordship to set us unto it, so shall it be to His glory, and right welcome to all them that love to serve Him, and their prince, in true faithful obedience; as is only known to the Lord of heaven, to whom we most heartily pray for your lordship's preservation. At Paris, the ixth day of August, 1538, by your faithful orators;

" Miles Coverdale,
" Richard Grafton,
" William Grey."

These agents for the English Bible were now lodged in the house of Francis Regnault, or Reynold, (as they call him,) a printer at Paris. For him they make an earnest suit to Cromwell, not without connecting the issue of it with their present employment. "[1] We are instantly desired of our host, whose name is Francis Reynold, a Frenchman," they say, "to make supplication for him unto your lordship. Whereas of long time he hath been an occupier into England, more than xl years, [and] hath always provided such books for England as they most occupied, so that he hath a great number at this present in his hands; as primers in English, missals, with other such like, whereof now, by the company of the booksellers in London, he is utterly forbidden to make sale, to the utter undoing of the man: Wherefore most humbly we beseech your lordship to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he may have licence to sell those which he hath done already, so that hereafter he print no more in the English tongue, unless he have an Englishman that is learned to be his corrector; and that is the man well contented withal. He is also contented, and hath promised before my [2] lord

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[2] Bonner, at that time the English ambassador at Paris; and like Gardiner then practising upon the simplicity of Coverdale and his companions that dissimulation, of which, ere long, in their general conduct our history exhibits such convincing proofs.

elect of Hereford, that if there be found any notable faults in his books, he will put the same out, and print the leaf again. Thus are we bold to write unto your lordship in his cause, as doth also my lord elect of Hereford, beseeching your lordship to pardon our boldness, and to be good lord unto this honest man, whose servant shall give attendance upon your lordship's most favourable answer. If your lordship shew him this benefit, we shall not fare the worse in the readiness and due expedition of this your lordship's work of the Bible, which goeth well forward, and within few months will draw to an end by the grace of Almighty God, who preserve your good lordship now and evermore. From Paris, the xij[th] day of September, [1538.]

"MILES COVERDALE,
"RICHARD GRAFTON."

The happy conclusion which they expected was soon interrupted. Meantime the zeal of Coverdale occasioned him to issue from the press of this French printer, in November, a more correct edition of the New Testament in Latin and English, than that which had been printed as his translation by Nicholson in an earlier part of the year. He dedicated this Paris impression to Cromwell, and [1] apologized for the faults of the

[1] In the Preface to the Testament.

former in stating that it had been printed while he was abroad, that he had entrusted it to the superintendence of a friend, (John Hollybushe,) that his first sight of it had only been in July, and that though now solicitous to repair the injury to his own name, to his friend and to the printer he imputed no more than a readiness, that had overstepped correctness, "to print and set forth any good thing."

In the following month this Bible was brought almost to its conclusion at the Paris press, when the Inquisition interposed, accused the printer of heresy, and summoned the English agents to answer for their conduct. The latter, who had before been "threatened," were doubtless prepared for flight on the first indication of the menace being realized, and they safely reached their own country. But the impression, so nearly finished, they were compelled, in their hasty escape, to leave behind them. The Inquisition condemned it to the flames. The officer, who was to superintend the burning, is said to have saved "about four dry fats full," in order to sell them as waste paper. Of these a partial recovery only has been pretended to have been afterwards made by the curious. I am inclined to think, that the proprietors lost few copies of the impres-

Foxe. Burnet. Strype.

sion. For the alarm soon subsided. Cromwell found means to appease the Inquisitors. The English proprietors returned to the French capital; brought away with them the *heretical* presses, types, and printers; and in London produced the work, no later than in [1] April, 1539. At least, that is the date to the copy, first emphatically named, CRANMER'S or THE GREAT BIBLE. They could not, in so short a time, have then accomplished at the press an entire new impression.

In churches the Bible had already been directed to be placed. Cranmer was still urgent that it might find its way to the house of any man. The Reformation in 1539, required great exertions to support it. Its enemies were indefatigable in forming measures against it. Cranmer had always considered the dispersion of the Scriptures the most powerful engine in its favour. At his intercession, therefore, the king issued a proclamation, which stated, " [2] that his Majesty was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's Word; and that this could not be effected by any means so well, as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English language." The proclamation also, while it allowed that this translation only might be circulated for five years, forbade not the impression of

[1] Lewis. Herbert.

[2] Burnet, i. Rec. B. iii. No. 15.

any other that might be approved by Cromwell, or that had [1] first been ordered by the king, a privy councillor, or a bishop. Richard Taverner, therefore, a scholar, and the [2] friend of Cromwell, before the close of 1539, published a Bible, (unconnected with the edition in which Cranmer had now been so much interested,) as a partial correction of that which had appeared in 1537. It was dedicated to the king, by whom it was allowed to be read in churches. After the death of Cromwell, Taverner for this proof of his attachment to the Reformation was imprisoned, through the influence of prelates who opposed it; but was soon released, without any diminution of his sovereign's favour. To deprive Cranmer of the royal regard, because of the wide dissemination of the Scriptures, was now also an ineffectual effort made by Gardiner. In the presence of the king he [3] challenged the archbishop to shew any difference between the authority of the Scriptures

[1] Foxe. Lewis.

[2] Taverner was descended from an ancient family in Norfolk, and had been educated at Wolsey's College in Oxford. In 1534 he came to Court, and was soon employed by Cromwell, then secretary of state; by whose recommendation he was made clerk of the signet to Henry; an office which he retained under Edward. Cromwell is supposed to have encouraged him to the revision of the Bible, on account of his especial skill in Greek. See A. Wood, Ath. Ox. and Lewis.

[3] Burnet.

and of the apostolical canons. The latter he affirmed to be equal to the other writings of the Apostles. The disputation had lasted for some time, when the king interrupted it, by telling Gardiner that Cranmer was too experienced a [1] leader to be defeated by a novice. But other obstacles to the dispersion of the Scriptures we shall soon find interposed by Gardiner and his party, and sanctioned by the fickleness of the sovereign. The great object of the Reformers, "that the Word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified," sustained, however, only a temporary check.

In the mean time Cranmer had prepared the eloquent Preface which at length accompanied the re-impression of his Bible in 1540. He was now waiting for the royal approbation of it. It was time too, he thought, to resolve upon a price for the volume, "[2] Berthelet and Whitchurch," he tells Cromwell, "having been with me, and by their account declared the expences and charges of

[1] Dr. Ridley, in his Life of Bishop Ridley, 1763, thus happily distinguishes the attainments of the present disputants, as well as the skill of the royal arbiter: "The reason why the Reformation proceeded so far under Henry was, because the king was better read in divinity than Gardiner; and the reason why it proceeded no further was, because he was less read in it than Cranmer." p. 140.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House at Westminster.

the printing of the great Bibles. And by the advice of [1] Berthelet I have appointed them to be sold for xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. apiece, and not above. Howbeit Whitchurch informeth me that your lordship thinketh it a more convenient price to have them sold at x^{s}. apiece, which in respect of the great charges both of the paper, (which in very deed is substantial and good,) and other great hindrances, Whitchurch and his fellow thinketh it a small price. Nevertheless they are right well contented to sell them for x^{s}. so that you will be so good lord unto them, as to grant henceforth none other licence to any other printer, saving to them, for the printing of the said Bible. For else they think that they shall be greatly hindered thereby, if any other should print it; they sustaining such charges as they already have done. Wherefore I shall beseech your lordship, in consideration of their travail in this behalf, to tender their requests. And they have promised me to print in the end of their Bibles the price thereof, to the intent the king's liege people shall not henceforth be deceived of their price. Further, if your lordship hath known the king's Highness's pleasure concerning the Preface of the Bible, which I sent to you to oversee, so that his Grace doth allow it, I pray you

[1] The historians of our typography seem not to have known, that Berthelet had been the archbishop's secretary. See before, p. 100.

that the same may be delivered unto the said Whitchurch unto printing; trusting that it shall both encourage many [1] slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein.—At Lambeth, the xiiij[th] day of November, [1539.]"

[1] Thus he writes in his Preface: "Truly some there are that be too slow, and need the spur: some others seem too quick, and need more of the bridle; some lose their game by short-shooting, others by over-shooting: some walk too much on the left hand, some too much on the right. In the former sort be all they that refuse to read, or to hear read, the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; much worse they that let also, or discourage, the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort be they which by their inordinate reading, indiscreet speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise by their licentious living slander and hinder the Word of God most of all other, whereof they would seem to be the greatest furtherers." I have added, at the end of this volume, the whole of Cranmer's Preface, too long to be admitted here as a note.

CHAPTER XII.

1538.

Destruction of Becket's shrine—Some account of him—Cromwell's second Injunctions especially against the doctrines of the Church of Rome — Impostures detected — Letters of Cranmer and Coverdale respecting Becket—Mission of the German Protestants to England—Cranmer's letters relating to it—The Anabaptists in England—Trial of Lambert—Cranmer's speech, and his opinion of the Eucharist—Of the marriage of priests—The king's proclamation against it.

WHILE the zeal of the Reformers in 1538 had been so eminently displayed in the preparation of the Great Bible, the same year was distinguished by other signal proceedings both in accordance and in opposition to their views.

The most popular saint, in England, of the Church of Rome, was Thomas Becket. He was now in the estimation of many, as Chaucer more than a century before had termed him, "[1] the holy

[1] Prologue, Canterb. Tales.

blissful martyr" of the time. His [1] miracles, often of the most ridiculous and absurd character, were still the honoured theme of ignorance and credulity. To his shrine at Canterbury superstitious pilgrims yet resorted; and upon the altar, erected to his memory, their prodigality, as in former days, showered down the [2] richest offerings. Cranmer had [3] already censured this folly. The king now resolved to check it. We are told that the [4] deceased prelate was formally cited to appear in court, and answer charges to be brought against him by the king's attorney of treason and rebellion. After the canonical allowance of thirty days' delay, "[5] still the saint neglected," the recent historian of our country facetiously observes, "to quit the tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries and a half." But counsel, it is also said, argued for him, though in vain. For the proof of these proceedings, we are referred

[1] A long list of them is given by Stapleton, in his Tres Thomæ, &c. p. 108. In the Library of the Cathedral at Canterbury there still exist manuscripts detailing not only some of these delusions, but various receipts at his shrine, and an account of jubilees in honour of his memory. MSS. C. xi. xiii.

[2] Even in the time of Henry VIII. in one year the offerings at the altar of Becket were 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, at that of the Virgin Mary only 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, at that of God nothing.

[3] In treating his memory with disrespect, at the time of his festival.

[4] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 359.

[5] Ibid.

to copies of two apparently public instruments made by [1] Wilkins from the work of Chrysostom Henriquez, entitled *Phœnix Reviviscens;* the authenticity of which Dr. Lingard himself might have [2] doubted, he says, if the king had not alluded to them, in his proclamation of November 16, by saying "it appeareth *now clearly* that Thomas Becket," &c. and if the papal bull, of December 17, had not used the words "*in judicium vocari, et tanquam contumacem damnari, ac proditorem declarari fecerat.*" It is to [3] Pollini, indeed, who is hardly at any time more than a servile copier of Sanders, that this Henriquez ascribes the first of these instruments, which is the citation, and to another foreigner the second, which is the judgment. And yet not a syllable of the first is to be found in the piratical Italian, nor any thing respecting the second but a lamentation of the alleged writer of it. Pollini merely [4] translates the remark by

[1] Concilia, iii. 835.

[2] Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 360. n.

[3] "Hæc sententia, *ut refert F. Girol. Pollini in Istor. Eccl. della Rivoluzione d'Ingilterra*, l. iii. (intended for lib. i.) c. 42, à rege et senatu subscripta sic se habebat; Henricus," &c. Wilkins, iii. 835.

[4] It is not, however, from the first edition of Sanders that Pollini borrows his account. In that the martyr is less celebrated than in the second; while the second erroneously gives an additional century to the period when Becket lived, which Pollini precisely follows. See the *De Schismate Angl.* ed. 1585, p. 189, and Pollini Istor. Eccl. 1594, p. 153.

Sanders, which lord Herbert has copied in stating, "[1] that, Becket having been so great an example of contumacy to his king, Henry (as Sanders hath it) was constrained *causam*[2] *iterum ad tribunal dicere;* that is to say, *his life and actions being examined,* he was declared by our king that he deserved no canonization; and it was proved besides, that the skull which the people so much venerated, and was now burnt as an imposture, was not his own." The judicial process against him Dr. Lingard submits to the reader, "[3] on account of its *singularity* and *absurdity.*" Has he then forgotten the execution of the papal order in regard to Wicliffe, by which, long after his death, that Reformer was also cited, and then excommunicated; that his body was disinterred, and his bones burnt? or, to come down to the Marian times, will he deny that the deceased Bucer and Fagius were treated at Cambridge in a[4] precisely *similar* manner to Becket, being

[1] Hen. VIII. ed. 1649. 437.

[2] Alluding to the judgments formerly pronounced upon his arrogance.

[3] Hist. Eng. 3d. ed. vi. 359.

[4] "Andreas Pernus, quem supra Academiæ procuratorem institutum fuisse demonstravimus, *sententiam condemnationis* publico nomine illis exhibuit: quâ perlectâ publicè rogat, uti denuntiare per literas suas vellent *adesse Bucerum et Fagium, vel si qui ipsorum causas agere vellent, et sese in tertium ab indè diem judicio sistere.*" Hist. de Vita, Obitu, &c. M. Buceri, P. Fagii, &c. 1562. fol. 133. Foxe copies this account.

summoned from the tomb to appear, and shew cause why their bones also should not be burnt? The University had then returned to a Romish *absurdity*, as it well indeed is called, which Henry in the case of Becket seems not to have relinquished. However, Becket was certainly declared to have been no other than a traitor and a rebel, who would have placed himself and the clergy above the law of his country. The images of him were now ordered to be every where removed, the days of his festival to be no more regarded, and his name to be blotted out of all books. The gold and jewels of the shrine were confiscated to the king's use. They filled [1] two ponderous chests indeed, which therefore, with their accustomed taste for falsehood, Sanders and Pollini have converted into six and twenty carts; as if the rapacity of Henry had not been sufficiently conspicuous in the smaller seizure.

Cromwell soon [2] afterwards issued new Injunctions, in the name of his sovereign, to the clergy; in which the omission of every remembrance of Becket is especially commanded. The instruction of the people in the principles of true religion by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English, was again or-

[1] Stow gives a detail of their contents, and says "that the two great chests were such as six or eight strong men could do no more than convey one of them at once out of the church," 972.

[2] In September.

dered. The Bible, as before, was to be placed in every church. The works of charity, mercy, and faith, were to be earnestly inculcated; and a trust in the works of others, the [1] pilgrimage to a relic or an image, and the repetition of unintelligible beads, as all tending to idolatry and superstition, were to be forbidden. All images, abused by offerings or devotional journeys made to them, were to be taken down. Before no image were tapers any longer to be lighted. They who still dared to acknowledge the bishop of Rome's pretended power; they who endeavoured to hinder others from reading or hearing the Word of God, or from the observance of any of these Injunctions; were to be reported to the king, or his Council, or to Cromwell himself. The [2] pardons

[1] To the Welsh image of Darvel Gathern, as it was called, no less than five or six hundred pilgrims are said to have resorted on the fifth of the preceding April. "The innocent people," says he who communicated the account of this image to Cromwell, "hath been sore abused, and enticed to worship the said image, insomuch that there is a common saying as yet amongst them, that whosoever will offer any thing to the said image, he (the image) hath power to fetch him or them that so offer out of hell when they be damned." Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. 5. Ellis, Orig. Lett. 1824, ii. 83. The image, it is well known, was burnt, wantonly supplied as fuel at the cruel execution of friar Forest.

[2] It was against the papal pardons and indulgences that Luther so earnestly and successfully contended. It was against them also that we have seen Cranmer, as soon as he was archbishop, declaiming without scruple to his sovereign. See before,

of the pontiff were treated with contempt. The orisons to various imagined saints, the perpetual *ora pro nobis*, were to be relinquished for dutiful [1] supplications to the Almighty. The clergy were reminded, as in the former Injunctions, of what was expected in their personal conduct; and the judicious order for registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, in every parish, was now first made.

The impostures that were now discovered were certainly great and many. That they should bring the religious orders, by whom they had been maintained, into contempt, is no wonder. The rood of grace at Boxley, and the blood of Christ at Hales, may be called the principal instruments of these delusions. The former, being an image, by secret springs and wheels was contrived to appear before its votaries as an animated observer. The latter, being a phial often filled with the blood of a duck, and having one of its sides transparent and the other opaque, was accordingly invisible to the longing eyes of the sinner, till his money proved sufficient to turn the wondrous glass, and then the sight of its contents absolved

p. 113. In his printed Defence against Gardiner he told the prelate of Winchester, that "the meat that papists live by is indulgences and pardons, and such other remission of sin as cometh all from the pope, which giveth no life, but infecteth and poisoneth." Ed. 1580, p. 229.

[1] *Parce nobis, Domine*; and *Libera nos, Domine*; the Spare us, Good Lord, and Lord, deliver us, as in our present liturgy.

him. In Christ's Church, Canterbury, the blood of Becket was also preserved as a miraculous relic. Cranmer had written to Cromwell concerning it "[1] as a feigned thing," believing it to be "*made of red ocre or such like matter;*" and he desired "that Dr. Lee, and Dr. Barbour his chaplain might have the king's commission to examine *that,* and *all other like things there.*"

The fame of Becket, however, for a time, after the Injunctions had forbidden all notice of him, was still defended. In the following January Cranmer transmitted to Cromwell various depositions concerning one who had been heard to say, "[2] that it was pity St. Thomas was put down, and that the old law was as good as the new." In March, Coverdale addressed the vicar-general more fully upon the subject, informing him not only of "[3] a glass window in the church of Henley, in which the image of Thomas Becket, with the whole feigned story of his death, was suffered to remain, but that all the beams, irons, and candlesticks whereupon tapers and lights were wont to be set up to images, were still untaken down. Whereby," this vigilant reformer adds, "the poor simple unlearned people believe, that they shall have liberty to set up their candles again unto images, and that the old fashion shall shortly re-

[1] Orig. MS. Chapt.-House at Westminster.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

turn." Coverdale omits not to censure "the great and notable negligence of the [1] bishop of Lincoln" (who indeed was one of Gardiner's party) "in not weeding out such faults." He complains also "of the great oversight of the stationers of London, who for their lucre and gain are not ashamed to sell such primers as corrupt the king's subjects;" and concludes his letter with an account of his having seized many "most ungracious popish books within the precincts of Newbury," which he is solicitous to burn at the market-cross of the place.

To the German Protestants the proceedings of Henry, in exposing these delusions, had given great satisfaction. Envoys from the Lutheran princes were now in England, whither it is believed they had been invited by Cranmer, in order to a [2] discussion of points which might tend to remove other Romish impositions. Melancthon was requested to be one of the visitants. But he declined, not without sending however by Burckhardt, vice-chancellor to the elector of Saxony, one of the mission, an address to the king. Between these learned foreigners, and the divines now commissioned by Henry, there were many conferences, principally upon the articles in the Confession of Augsburg. They were to little purpose. Gardiner and his party, determined to

[1] Longland, the king's confessor.

[2] Lord Herbert. Burnet. Strype.

resist as far as they could the further alterations which Cranmer meditated, protracted the discussions to so unreasonable a length of time, as to compel the Germans to solicit leave for their departure. They had arrived in May, and it was now August. They were entreated by the king, doubtless at the request of Cranmer and Cromwell, yet to remain; and the result of this entreaty was thus communicated by the archbishop to his friend.

"[1] My very singular and especial good lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto the same, that, according to your letters to me addressed the xvth day of this present month, I sent for the orators of Germany, and required them in the king's Grace's behalf (so [2] genteely as I could) to [3] demore here until his Highness's coming nearer into these parts. Whereat they were somewhat astonished, saying that at the king's request they would be very well content to tarry during his pleasure not only a month or two, but a year or two, if they were at their own liberty. But forasmuch as they had been so long from their princes, and had not all

[1] Orig. MS. Chapt.-House at Westminster.

[2] Written *gentilly*; our word *genteel* being at this time, and long afterwards, written *gentile*. It has occurred before in Cranmer's letters.

[3] To stop. Lat. *demorari*.

this season any letters from them, it was not to be doubted but that they were daily looked for at home; and therefore they durst not tarry, unless the king's Highness would make their excuse of their long abode here unto their princes. And yet therein they would give me no determinate answer, by no means, at that time; but they would consult together, and make me an answer the next day after. And the next day they were fully determined to depart within viij days. Nevertheless, after long reasoning, upon hope that their tarrying should grow into some good success concerning the points of their commission, which I much put them in hope of on your behalf, they condescended and were very well contented to tarry for a month, so that they should be no longer detained; but that, after the said month should be expired, they might take their leave and so depart, trusting that the king's Majesty would write unto their princes for their excuse in thus long tarrying. Besides this, they require in the mean time, while they tarry here, that we may entreat of the abuses, and put the same articles in writing, as we have done the other [matters;] which I promised them. Nevertheless, I would gladly have the king's Grace's pleasure and commandment therein, whereby we shall the sooner finish the matter.—At Lambeth, the xviijth day of August, [1538.]"

A few days afterwards Cranmer made a second report to Cromwell, in which reminding him that the envoys, "[1] when they granted to tarry one month, required that we should go forth in their book, [the Confession of Augsburg,] and entreat of the abuses, so that the same might be set forth in writing, as the other articles are; I have since," he adds, "effectuously moved the bishops thereto, but they have made me this answer, *That they know that the king's Grace hath taken upon himself to answer the said orators in that behalf, and thereof a book is already devised by the king's Majesty, and therefore they will not meddle with the abuses, lest they should write therein contrary to that the king shall write.* Therefore they have required me to entreat now of the sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, wherein they know certainly that the Germans will not agree with us, except it be in Matrimony only. So that I perceive the bishops seek only an occasion to break the concord, assuring your lordship that nothing shall be done, unless the king's Grace's special commandment be unto us therein directed. For they manifestly see that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they would in no wise grant unto them. Further, as concerning the orators of Germany I am advertised, that they be very evil lodged

[1] Burnet, iii. Rec. No. 48. Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. 330.

where they be. For, besides the multitude of rats daily and nightly running in their chambers, which is no small disquietness, the kitchen standeth directly against their parlour, where they daily dine and sup; and by reason thereof the house savoureth so ill, that it offendeth all men that come into it. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not but they will accept that offer most thankfully, albeit I am sure that they will not remove for this time.—At Lambeth, xxiij[d] day of August, [1538.]"

But the patience of the envoys was now exhausted. They found that to their demand for the removal of abuses, the half communion, the private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, no concession would be made; and, to the great disappointment of Cranmer and his party, they were now permitted to depart. Their judgment concerning the abuses they submitted in writing, before their departure, to the king, who dismissed them with thanks for the trouble they had taken, and with compliments upon the learning they had exhibited. Of our own divines Strype could find no written opinions upon the subjects in question, although upon other abuses he had seen many. Such too I have seen among the various observations relating to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, which are still preserved

in the State-Paper-Office, of which the greater part are in the hand-writing of a secretary, and some are corrected by Cranmer himself. Among them also is a list of those, to whom the third point of discussion, which had been proposed by the German envoys, was probably sent in the following form, (together with their determination,) "*Whether priests may marry by the Laws of God, or not.*—The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of St. David's, the abbot of Westminster, and the abbot of St. Alban's, do say, *that priests may lawfully marry by the Law of God.* The bishop of Ely was not fully resolved to give a determinate answer thereto. The archbishop of York, and all the other bishops and abbots do say, *that priests may not marry by the Law of God.*"

If the Romish party now prevailed against the efforts of the foreign reformers in this country, Henry however was still resolute in his public opposition to the pontiff. by refusing in this year to attend the council at Vicenza, as in concurrence with those reformers he had before refused to attend that at Mantua. To the invitation of the emperor Charles he replied in a letter which was [1] printed both in Latin and English, and was probably composed by the archbishop or some of

[1] By Berthelet, the king's printer, in 1538.

those who were of his opinion. It professes to be the epistle of the "supreme head of the Church of England, next under Christ, written to the emperor's Majesty, to all Christian princes, and *to all those that truly and sincerely profess Christ's religion.* In it both the causes are plainly declared, why the king's Highness ought neither to send nor go to the Council indicted at Vincence, and also *how perilous a thing it is for all such as profess the true doctrine of Christ to come thither.* Hereunto also is annexed the [1] protestation made the last year by the king, his whole Council, and clergy, as touching the council indicted at Mantua.—Read both, O Christian reader: Truth is coming home, long afore being in captivity: Step forth, and meet her by the way: If you see her present, embrace her, and shew thyself glad of her return."

The sect of the Anabaptists was now so increased in this country, as to alarm the government. These misguided persons are believed to have come hither, from the scenes of their disorders in Germany and Holland, in the year 1534. The Articles in 1536, under the sacrament of Baptism, pointed largely at their religious opinions, which they pronounced "detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned." By the common people abroad these [2] fanatics, for such

[1] This is also given by Foxe.

[2] Cùm igitur constet Anabaptistas agi *fanatico* spiritu, non

the Anabaptists certainly then were, had been feared, and detested, as beasts of prey; by the civil powers they had been treated as rebels of the [1] most dangerous character. Henry was led to believe, that the poison of their heresy and sedition was now widely spreading among his subjects. To Cranmer, accordingly, and to other prelates and divines, a royal commission was issued in October (1538) for the purpose of "proceeding against them, of restoring the penitent, of delivering the obstinate to the secular arm, and of destroying their books." A proclamation followed in November, making the Sacramentaries, as they who wished to reform the Eucharist from the abuses of the Church of Rome were then called, "the fellows of their crime," denouncing punishment upon both, as soon as detected, to the extremity of the law. That extremity was the

moveat nos eorum auctoritas. Melancthon, Loci Com. Lewis, Hist. of the Eng. Anabaptists, 1738, p. 38.

1 In the first Anabaptists there was a surprising mixture of wickedness, folly, stupidity, and religious frenzy. About this time, (1524,) says Perizonius, Anabaptism, which had lately sprung up, grievously afflicted Holland and the neighbouring regions. The men of this sect not only forbade infant baptism, and re-baptised all adults who had already been baptised in their infancy, but boasted of inspirations and revelations. They rejected all the liberal arts, destroyed all books, except the Holy Scriptures, abolished all magistracies and civil government, and declared that they would extirpate *the ungodly*, and set up *the kingdom of Sion*. Jortin, Erasm. i. 357.

punishment of death, which in the same month was inflicted upon a man and a woman, not English, but Dutch Anabaptists. Others of this sect, from the country of the latter also, had before suffered in England. Nor was the bitterness of such proceedings mitigated for several years.

But at this time the trial of a distinguished Sacramentary appears to have excited the greatest interest. John Nicholson, a clergyman, in the time of Cranmer's predecessor, had been detained in custody upon a charge of heresy, but at the accession of Cranmer to the primacy was discharged. He then assumed the name of Lambert, and became a schoolmaster in London. Regardless of the royal order that forbade disputation upon the Eucharist, he presented to Dr. Taylor, who had preached a sermon upon transubstantiation of which he was an indignant auditor, his [1] written sentiments against the belief of the real presence. Taylor reported this opposition to Barnes. Barnes, having been employed on the embassy to the Lutheran princes, was no stranger to the violent controversy concerning the Eucharist that had been excited among foreign Protestants, and perhaps now dreaded the introduction of it here as unfavourable to the progress of the Reformation. He therefore advised Taylor to summon Lambert before the archbishop for

[1] Foxe. Burnet. Strype.

his heresy. Cranmer accordingly cited the learned heretic to answer for his conduct, who appealed from the metropolitan to the regal authority. Henry readily agreed to be his judge, and Westminster Hall was the scene of the proceedings. Addressed by his sovereign, [1] not with the condescension that endears to every man the character of royalty, the prisoner faltered. "[2] Why standest thou still?" said the unfeeling monarch to him: "Answer, as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?"—"I answer with St. Augustine," said Lambert, "that it is the body of Christ after a certain manner."—"Answer me," replied the king, "neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no."—Then I deny it," Lambert firmly answered, "to be the body of Christ."

[1] The king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent to severity, did not a little augment the terror of Lambert. Foxe. Cromwell, however, in a letter to Wyatt the ambassador in Germany, says that Henry "benignly endeavoured to convert the miserable man." Collier, ii. 152. The very first question, (not to copy more than in the text above,) proposed by him to the accused is not of a very benign cast: "Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?"—My name is John Nicholson, though I be called of many Lambert."—"What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you having two names, although you were my brother!" Foxe.

[2] Foxe.

—The monarch then merely telling him that he should be condemned by Christ's own words, *This is my body,* commanded the archbishop, who with other prelates attended at the trial, formally to refute the assertion.

Cranmer thus addressed him.

"[1] Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I promise I will willingly embrace the same. It is not disagreeable to the Word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once; which, being in heaven, was seen by St. Paul at the same time upon earth, (Acts ix. 4.) and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?" Lambert answered, "that it was not thereby proved that Christ's body was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body; for the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, spake to Paul, but that suddenly a light from heaven shone round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth; for they, who were with Paul, verily heard the voice, but

[1] Foxe. Strype.

saw nobody."—"But Paul himself witnesseth," said the archbishop, "that Christ did appear to him in the same vision."—"Christ witnesses in the same place," (Acts xxvi. 16, 17.) the triumphant divine replied, "that he would again appear to him, and deliver him out of the hand of the Gentiles; and yet we read in no place, that Christ did corporally appear to him." The [1] archbishop now hesitated, the king was disturbed, and the auditors were amazed. Gardiner, [2] out of the turn that had been assigned to him for disputing with the accused, instantly rose, as if impatient to lower the metropolitan in the eyes of his sovereign, by inferring that he had argued feebly on the occasion. He expected (nor was his expectation vain) thus to foment prejudices that would help to forward his own almost immediate proceedings, in regard to the execrable Act of the Six Articles. Himself and other prelates continued to [3] browbeat rather than to confute Lambert. The fallacies of Gardiner, Foxe has recorded; those of Sampson, bishop of Chichester, together with his insulting reflections upon the accused, Strype has [4] copied from his own declaration. The disputation too of Stokesley,

[1] Foxe.

[2] He was appointed to the *sixth* place in the disputation: he seized the *second*. Foxe.

[3] Foxe. Strype.

[4] From the Cott. MSS. Life of Cranm. Append. No. xxv.

bishop of London, upon this occasion, has been also [1] preserved, not without the notice of a miserable boast that he is said to have made, not long before he died, of having burned fifty heretics. Lambert maintained his opinions in answers not only to this opponent, but to Gardiner and Tunstal, as well as to the archbishop. The night was now approaching the disputation. Overpowered by the taunts, not by the arguments, of the prelates, Lambert perceived that there was no hope of being fairly heard, and he was silent. The king then asked him, whether he chose to live or die? He replied, that he looked to the royal mercy. That was, however, denied with the ungracious reflection, "I will not be a patron of heretics." To Cromwell the direction was then given by the sovereign to read the sentence of condemnation. The unhappy schoolmaster was soon afterwards consigned to the flames. He scorned to recant, and he died with firmness. Throughout this melancholy history we know nothing further of Cranmer than what I have related. What was his intention, when the cause was brought into his own court, cannot now be known. The proceedings are lost.

The mildness, with which he had at this time addressed the accused before the king, leads us to believe that he would also then have heard him with

[1] By Foxe.

candour, and have endeavoured to convert rather than punish him. Frith, who had long before been condemned for denying transubstantiation also, he had certainly [1] attempted to save by his persuasions. It was but in the year too preceding the trial of Lambert, that, being addressed by a learned [2] foreigner with a book upon the same denial, the archbishop, while he declined to be a patron of it, evidently referred with sorrow, in his answer, to the sacrifice that had been made to this doctrine in the death of Frith and his fellow-martyr, by calling it "[3] the bloody controversy." Still he taught the doctrine; and to Cromwell he had in this year referred a proceeding respecting it, instead of deciding it himself.

"[4] These shall be to signify unto your lordship, that yesterday [5] Franciscus, the duke of Saxony's chancellor, was in hand with me and the bishop of Chichester very instantly to have Atkinson's penance altered from Paul's unto the parish church of the said Atkinson. Whereunto we made him this answer, that forsomuch as *that error of the sacrament of the altar* was so greatly spread

[1] See before, p. 86.

[2] Joachim Vadianus (Von Wat) of Helvetia, whose work will again be noticed.

[3] "Hæc tam cruenta controversia."

[4] Orig. Chapter-House at Westminster.

[5] Burckhardt, the principal of the German envoys.

abroad in this realm, and daily increasing more and more, we thought it needful, for the suppressing it of most, specially to have him do his penance at Paul's, where the most people might be present, and thereby in seeing him punished, be ware of like offence; declaring further unto him that it lay not in us to alter that penance to any other place, because we were but commissaries appointed by your lordship, and therefore without your advice and consent we could not grant unto him any thing in this behalf. He then, perceiving that we nothing did incline to his request, answered and said, that if any person, coming from the king of England unto the duke his master, should require a greater request than this was, it should be granted unto him; alleging that the [1] bishop of Hereford asked of his master one that was condemned to death, and he was liberally delivered unto him. Howbeit, said he, I do not require such a thing, but only that this Atkinson's penance may be altered from one place unto another. Then I promised him, that I would consult with your lordship herein as this day touching his request. Wherefore I beseech your lordship to advertise me by this bearer what answer I shall make unto him in this behalf.—At Lambeth, the xxij[d]. day of June, [1538.]"

[1] Fox, one of our ambassadors to the Lutheran princes in 1537.

Cranmer expresses no desire, we see, that the request should be denied. If still he firmly adhered to the doctrine of transubstantiation, as in his [1] answer to Vadian in the preceding year he had said he would adhere till he found stronger proofs against it, further evidence of his concern for those, who by opposing it became liable to punishment, we have observed in the case of [2] Damplip, to whom indeed he made [3] some concession against the doctrine. So to an Oxford [4] theologian, who in 1541 disputed before him against it, he granted force in his objections. So when Anne Askew, in 1546, was adjudged to the flames for disbelieving the doctrine, that accomplished lady, whose affecting story chiefly in her own words is told by Foxe, names among her judges not the archbishop, but the Romish bishops [5] Gardiner and Bonner. It was in [6] that year, indeed, that Cranmer extricated himself entirely

[1] Strype, who gives the whole Latin letter, Append. No. xxv.

[2] See the archbishop's letter relating to this person, p. 176.

[3] In regard to the pretended transubstantiated hosts. See p. 176. When Damplip was examined before him, the archbishop also allowed that the Scripture knew no such term as transubstantiation. Strype.

[4] Strype.

[5] Bale published a Vindication of the lady Anne Askew, which was diligently exposed to sale at Winchester, and in the neighbourhood, as a reproach to Gardiner, the bishop of that see, *who was the great cause of her death.* Strype.

[6] See note 3, p. 266.

from the belief of transubstantiation. Reminded afterwards by Gardiner of the part he had taken in the trial of Lambert by using the words, *This is my body,* in the sense that [1] tended to the condemnation of the prisoner, he was desirous to atone, by the following frank confession, for his concurrence in the prosecution. "[2] I acknowledge that not many years passed I was yet in darkness concerning this matter, [transubstantiation,] being brought up in scholastical and Romish doctrine, whereunto I gave much credit. And therefore I grant, that you have heard me stand and defend the untruth which I then took for the truth, and so did I hear you at the same time. But praise be to the Everlasting God, who hath wiped away those [3] Saulish scales from mine eyes; and I pray unto His Divine Majesty with all my heart, that He will likewise do once the same to you. Thy will be fulfilled, O Lord."

If this were not sufficient to challenge the opinion, that, at the time of Lambert's trial, Cranmer held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation, a more positive assertion may be adduced. Taunted at his own trial, with reference to that

[1] Gardiner's Answer to Cranmer, Def. of the Sac. by Cranmer, 2nd ed. p. 285.

[2] Ibid. p. 287.

[3] Evidently alluding to the passage cited by Lambert, in his examination, from Acts ix. and opposed to the archbishop's own argument at that time. See before, p. 259.

of the schoolmaster, as if he had then been a Lutheran and had afterwards become a Zuinglian, "[1] I grant," said he, to the jurist who interrogated him, "*that then I*[2] *believed* otherwise than I do now, *and so I did until* my lord of London, doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me [in[3] 1546] quite from my opinion, [namely, of transubstantiation,]—[4] I taught," he added, "but *two contrary doctrines in the high sacrament of the altar;*" meaning, beyond all doubt, only the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and that of the Reformed Church of England in the communion-service which had been prepared by himself.

While the Sacramentaries, and Anabaptists, were thus denounced by the royal proclamation; the clergy of the Established Church who either had followed, or might intend to follow, the example of the metropolitan by marrying, were also threatened in it with deprivation and imprisonment. From the archbishop himself several of them had received a [5] dispensation to marry. He

[1] Foxe.

[2] Dr. Lingard tells us that these questions referred only to what Cranmer had *taught*, at the time of Lambert's trial, not to what he *believed*. Vindic. Hist. p. 85. And yet Cranmer tells us that, *then*, his *belief* was that of the Romanists.

[3] So stated in the Pref. by Sir John Cheke to the Latin translation of Cranmer's Defence against Gardiner, 12mo. Embdæ, 1557. sign. A. 5.

[4] Foxe.

[5] Strype.

knew that, in [1] former times, the ecclesiastical laws of celibacy had thus been allowed to be neglected; and that the [2] constitutions, which in some of our provincial councils had been directed against the clandestine marriages of the clergy, were made for shew, but were seldom or never executed. The open [3] restoration of marriage to the clergy appears, indeed, to have been expected before this public menace of Henry had been issued. Cranmer perhaps had been thus encouraged to contend, as we have seen, in his suggestions of further reformation to the king, for this liberty. It had been enacted in [4] 1535 that all licences, dispensations, and faculties, obtained of the archbishop of Canterbury in matters not repugnant to the Scriptures and the Laws of God, should stand in full authority and strength, without any repeal hereafter to be made of them. Hence the grants for the marriages in question. Afterwards, Henry understanding that several both of the regular and secular clergy were mar-

[1] H. Wharton, Specimen, &c. 1693. p. 79. Bishop Hall, Honour of the Married Clergy, 1620, p. 12. seq. and p. 182. where he cites from cardinal Cajetan papal dispensations to the same effect. So Cranmer himself appealed to the ancient Councils, which expressly allowed the marriage of priests, in his answer to the Devonshire rebels.

[2] H. Wharton, 79.

[3] Strype. H. Wharton, 81.

[4] H. Wharton, 81.

ried [1] without any authority, inserted in the proclamation against the sectaries his prohibition of these unions, which however, though privately contracted, he did not now dissolve. To all, it has been stated, he would have [2] granted, throughout his reign, the [3] liberty of marrying, if Romish counsels had not prevented him; and to many he had been heard to speak of this [4] intention. But by the same mischievous guidance, and with a view to exhibit his own skill in controversial theology, he was soon led to enact the Six Articles, the foulest stain perhaps upon our statute-books, in which the severest determinations are pronounced against the marriages of priests. By the proclamation of [5] 1538, however, the archbishop was not affected; the penalty in that not extending to such as were married and kept their wives privately.

[1] H. Wharton, 81. and Strype, who refers to bishop Ponet's Defence of the Marriage of Priests, while Wharton cites his authorities from an anonymous writer of the book so named.

[2] Wharton. Strype.

[3] "King Henry never said, God disallowed the marriages of ecclesiastics." Bp. Hall, ut supr. 239.

[4] Wharton. Strype.

[5] See before, p. 53. Wilkins, mistakingly, places this proclamation under the year 1534. Concil. iii. 776. Strype was inclined to the same error, but subsequently avoided it. See his Life of Cranmer, B. i. ch. 6. and ch. 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

1539.

Dissolution of the greater monasteries—The Romish party ascendant—Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk in great favour with the king—Gardiner's sermon against the Reformers—New foundations of cathedrals—The Act of the Six Articles—Cranmer's opposition to it—The opinion of the foreign Reformers upon it—The book of ceremonies—Anne of Cleves—Cranmer's letters respecting her.

THE dissolution of the greater monasteries was resolved on in 1539, and before the spring of 1540 was effected. But the conduct of the king towards the Reformers was changed. Gardiner was now in favour with Henry, and was required by him to preach at Paul's Cross during Lent. The king's attachment to the Romish doctrines was thus to be proclaimed. On the first Sunday of Lent, in 1539, the preacher accordingly scrupled not to attack the labours of Cranmer and his party in a manner, which he appears to have thought wonderfully happy. From an accomplished scholar, as Gardiner certainly was,

one could hardly have expected such worthless oratory. It might indeed be intended as a sharp defiance to the men of the *new learning*; and, like the challenge of Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, "there is certainly vinegar and pepper in it." But the Reformers would despise it. "[1] I gathered my wittes to me," he says, "called for grace, and determined to declare the gospell of that sondaye, conteynynge the devill's three temptations, the matter whereof semed to me *very apte to be applyed to the tyme*, and good occasion to note the abuse of scripture *among some*, as the devyl abused it to Christ; which matter in dede I touched somewhat playnly, and in my judgement truly. And alludinge to the temptation of the devyll to Christ to cast himselfe downewarde, alleging scripture, that he should take no hurte, I sayde, Nowadayes the devill tempteth the world, and byddeth them cast themselfe backeward. *There is no forward in the newe teaching, but all backwarde.* Now the devill teacheth, Come back from fastynge, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weepinge for thy synnes, and all is backewarde; insomuch as he must lerne to say his pater-noster backward!"

[1] From his Declaration of such Articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false. In the margin of fol. v. a. Gardiner calls this "a part of his sermon at Paul's Crosse the fyrst sonday of lent, mdxxxix."

The prelates of the new learning, with Cranmer at the head of them, were now [1] unwilling to consent in parliament, that to the sole use of the king the large revenues of the religious houses should be assigned. Such lands, as his royal ancestors had given to any of those houses, they were not disposed to deny him. The rest they were desirous to [2] bestow upon hospitals, grammar-schools, and cathedrals under new regulations; and in part their desire was gratified. The institutions of some cathedrals were altered, and new bishoprics were founded. The project of an altered endowment in Cranmer's own cathedral of Canterbury appears to have been planned by Cromwell, and by him to have been submitted to the archbishop, who then objected to the admission of prebendaries into that and all the royal foundations, "[3] their state," he said, "having been so excessively abused, that when learned men had been advanced to that post, they desisted from their studies and from all godly exercises of preaching and teaching." Of the new foundation, however, prebends formed a part; and the office was by himself maintained with additional honour, in causing his chaplain, [4] Nicholas Rid-

[1] Strype.

[2] Burnet. Strype. The preamble of a Bill to this purpose is given by Ridley, Life of Bishop Ridley, p. 131.

[3] Letter to Cromwell. Burnet, iii. Rec. No. 65.

[4] Le Neve, Fasti. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

ley, afterwards his fellow-martyr, to obtain one of the first.

To the fall of the monasteries there was now no especial opposition by Gardiner, or the duke of Norfolk, who at this time was prime minister. Hence it has been well said, that by the [1] Romish party the point was carried. To the views of that party Henry was certainly now devoted. Prompted by them, he directed that a [2] committee should be appointed by the lords to examine the existing differences of religious opinions, and to form articles for a general agreement. On the Romish side were the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, and Bangor; on the Reformed, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and Salisbury, and Cromwell the vice-gerent. Their attendance in the house upon other business was dispensed with till they should come to a conclusion; but they were recommended to be expeditious. Eleven days, however, elapsed in mutual opposition. The duke of Norfolk, with the bitter propositions in his hand against the Reformers, then acquainted the lords, that as by the committee no progress had been made, by himself the abolition of the diversity of opinions would be submitted to their judgment. He therefore read the following propositions.

[1] Neve, Animadv. on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole, p. 280.

[2] Burnet. Strype.

I. Whether in the Eucharist the real body of Christ was present without any transubstantiation.

II. Whether that sacrament was to be given to the laity in both kinds.

III. Whether the vows of chastity, made either by men or women, ought to be observed by the Law of God.

IV. Whether by the Law of God private masses ought to be celebrated.

V. Whether priests by the Law of God might marry.

VI. Whether auricular confession were necessary by the Law of God.

Against most of these propositions Cranmer argued in the negative. Such is the account of Foxe, lord Herbert, Burnet, and even Collier. His own assertions, afterwards, first to the Devonshire rebels, and then to Gardiner, appear to justify their report. To the former he said, "[1] that these articles were so enforced by the evil counsel of certain papists against the truth and *common judgment both of divines and lawyers*, that if the king's Majesty himself had not come personally into the parliament-house, *those laws had never passed*." To the latter, being reminded by him of the clergy (who were indeed required to [2] *read* them in their churches) having *assented*

[1] Strype, Life of Cranm. Append. No. 40.

[2] It has been pretended by Romanists that Cranmer *signed* these Articles. No, says Burnet, never; nor was there any

to the Articles, he replied "[1] You know very well, and if you will deny it there be enough yet alive can testify, that divers of the clergy, being of most godly living, learning, and judgment, *never consented to the Articles* which you speak of. And what marvel was it, that those Articles, *notwithstanding divers learned men repugning*, passed by the most voices of the parliament, seeing that although the authority of Rome was then newly ceased, yet the darkness and blindness of errors and ignorance that came from Rome still remained, and overshadowed this realm, [so] that a great number of the parliament had not yet their eyes opened to see the truth. And yet, *how that matter was enforced by some persons, they know right well that were then present.*" The freedom of debate had been evidently crippled. He challenges Gardiner to deny it. Whether his opposition, therefore, ceased on the second day, as [2] some pretend, or was continued on the third, as our [3] old historians affirm, it is clear that he

clause in the Act that they should be *signed*. Mr. Butler and Mr. Phillips have also untruly told their readers of *subscriptions* to the Act.

[1] Defence against Gardiner, 2nd ed. p. 285.

[2] Dr. Lingard.

[3] Foxe, Lord Herbert, Burnet, &c. Bishop Hall also indignantly replies to one who pretended that Cranmer assented to the Articles, "that this worthy metropolitan was the only man who durst for three days together openly oppose those wickedly projected Articles; and this in special: insomuch as

was silenced not by fair discussion. The monarch whom he opposed, compelled to admire his firmness, condescended though in vain to bid him retire, since he would not yield to the pleas for the cruelty and absurdity that now were meditated. In a single point it was his good fortune not to differ from the opinion of Henry. It related to that tenet which is so serviceable in subjugating the freedom of the human mind, auricular confession. He seized the present occasion to assert, that *auricular confession was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel;* in which assertion he was [1] supported by the king; and they were opposed by the archbishop of York and the bishops of Winchester and Durham. That the resolution of the house might [2] declare auricular confession to be *a command by Christ,* and a part of the sacrament of penance, was the

he was willed out of the house, till the Act might pass, which, notwithstanding he well knew king Henry, he stoutly refused." Honour of the Married Clergy, 1620. 241.

[1] Burnet, i. Addend. 369, and Rec. 366. ed. 1681.

[2] In the State-Paper Office there is an answer in the negative to the question, "*Whether auricular confession be necessary by the Law of God or not,*" bearing the names of the archbishop and nine other prelates, and of the abbots of Westminster and Gloucester. The archbishop of York, and all the other bishops and abbots, were for the affirmative. This question had been sent in writing, as that respecting the marriage of priests had been, which we have already observed, long before the Six Articles were proposed.

object of Gardiner and his associates: but the debate produced no more than the simple declaration, that this confession was expedient and necessary to be retained in the Church of God. Tunstal was vexed at this successful opposition, and afterwards wrote to the king, whose opinions, however, he could not change. "[1] Since, methought my lord of Durham," the king replied to him, "that both the bishops of York and Winchester, and your reasons and texts, were so fully answered this other day in the house, as to my seeming and supposal, *the most of the house was satisfied;* I marvelled not a little why eftsoons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than there were declared, *both by the bishop of Canterbury and me,* to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose, &c." The whole letter, denying auricular confession to be of divine institution, is too long to be copied. His Majesty concludes it, "I pray you, blame not me, though I be not of your opinion; and I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose." Cranmer, soon after this memorable debate, confirmed the opinion he had urged with the following assertion; "[2] that the Scripture speaketh not of penance, as we call it, a sacra-

[1] The king's letter to Tunstal. Burnet, ut supr. 366.

[2] In 1540. Burnet and Collier.

ment, consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, *making no private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him.*"

But the opposition of the archbishop to the Six Articles has been attributed, by Romish writers, solely to the fact of his being [1] married; as if there had been no other part of them to which he could not assent, and as if he abhorred not the rigorous penalties attached to the whole. Defeated in his attempt to prevent their being passed into a law, he still maintained his despicable opinion of them, while as a dutiful subject he refused not his submission to them. For when afterwards a conspiracy was formed against him at the [2] suggestion, it has been thought, of Gardiner,

[1] Mr. Butler is content to charge the archbishop only with *dissimulation* in cohabiting with his wife. Other writers of the Church of Rome forbore not to accuse him of "incontinent living with a Dutch frow," which "is worthy of no other answer," said bishop Hall, "than the Lord rebuke thee. It is true that the holy man, wisely declining the danger and malignity of the times, made not at the first any public profession of his marriage; as what needed to invite mischief? But that he ever had any dishonest conversation with her or any other is no other than the accent of the mouth of blasphemy." Hon. of the Marr. Clergy, 183.

[2] Collier, ii. 199.

and his obedience to the Act was questioned, he told the king, [1] *that he was of the same opinion he had declared himself when the Bill was passing;* but that he had done nothing against the Act. The king then putting on an air of pleasantry, demanded whether his chamber would stand the test of the Articles; and the archbishop replied, that he had sent his wife to her friends in Germany. The answer, without evasion or reserve, pleased the king; who then told the archbishop, "[2] *that the severity of the Act was not levelled against him,* and at the same time assured him of his future favour." Dr. Lingard, however, informs us, that, struck with dismay at the passing of the Act, "[3] *the archbishop wrote to the king an apology for his presumption in having opposed the opinion of his Majesty;*" and presently, we shall see, "*that he came over to the opinion of the head of the Church.*" And so because Cranmer was left in a minority, and no division was made, upon the general question, *therefore* he came over to the opinion of the head of the Church! And upon what authority is this assertion made? Upon the [4] fragment of a letter, with no name subscribed to it, unsupported by any document or record, private or public, which pretends that all the opponents *came in* to the royal opinion, except

[1] Collier, ii. 200.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Hist. Eng. vi. 386.
[4] Burnet. Strype.

the bishop of [1] Salisbury, when in truth not only that prelate but [2] he of Worcester also, rather than assent to it, resigned their bishoprics; when we hear too Cranmer himself asserting to Gardiner, who dared not deny the fact, that "[3] divers learned men opposed the measure," and that he as well as others who were present at the debate "[4] knew how it had been enforced by some persons." The conduct of the metropolitan and the two other opposing prelates would find many admirers at home. Abroad it was honoured, as Melancthon [5] scrupled not to tell the king in a letter upon the occasion. The king, indeed, after the law was enacted, sent to Cranmer the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with other distinguished persons, not to commend him for his "*coming over*" to the royal opinion, but, on the contrary, "[6] to console him as one that for his exertions in parliament had shewn himself both eminently wise and learned, and as therefore not to be discouraged for any thing that there passed contrary to his allegations."—"I thank his Hignesss," said Cranmer, "for his regard, and you for your pains; and that my allegations and authorities may [yet] be admitted to the glory of God, and the good of this realm, is my hope in God." To convince him of their own and of the royal good-

[1] Shaxton.
[2] Latimer.
[3] See before, p. 274.
[4] See before, p. 274.
[5] The letter will presently be cited more at large.
[6] Strype. Burnet.

will, each of his noble visitors was loud in the praises of his conduct. Cromwell, pointedly adverting to the opposition, not to the *coming over* of his friend, observed, "[1] You, my lord, were born in a happy hour, I suppose; for *do, or say, what you will,* the king will always take it well at your hands. And I must needs confess, that in some things I have complained of you to his Majesty, but all in vain; for he will never give credit against you, whatever is laid to your charge: But let me or any other of the Council be complained of, his Grace will most seriously chide and fall out with us; and therefore you are most happy, if you can keep you in this state." The king had also now desired Cranmer to send him a copy of the reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles. It was [2] prepared by his secretary, Morice, who, crossing the Thames in a wherry with it, witnessed a diversion, not unusual in those days, of bear-baiting in a boat. The bear broke loose into the river, betook itself to the secretary's little vessel followed by the dogs, and sunk it. The secretary was rescued from the danger he was in; but the book that now was floating in the water, fell into the hands of the bearward, who, when the secretary claimed it, desired a priest, then present, first to see what it might contain. The priest declared, that as it was a confutation of the Six Articles, the author

[1] Strype.

[2] Foxe. Burnet. Strype.

of it might be hanged. The secretary, however, claimed it as his master's. The bearward, who is said to have been a bitter papistical enemy to Cranmer, now positively refused to restore it, and meditated a delivery of it at Court. Morice was before-hand with him, and related the whole affair to Cromwell; who, when the bearward made his threatening appearance, severely reprehended his presumption in meddling with a privy-councillor's book, and thus rescued it from his possession. The secretary then took it away, again fairly copied it, (injured as it had probably been in the water) and four days after, through Cromwell, conveyed it to the king. Among the lost writings of Cranmer this book, however, must be recorded.

The determinations of the Six Articles were these:

I. [1] That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

II. That the communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the Law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds.

III. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the Law of God.

IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God.

[1] Burnet. Strype.

V. That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which as it was agreeable to God's Law, so men received great benefit by them.

VI. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

The enactments were, that if any should speak, preach, or write against the first Article, they were to be judged heretics, to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their goods to the king. The preacher, or the obstinate disputant, against the other Articles, was to be accounted a felon, and to suffer death without benefit of clergy. They, who either in word or writing spoke against them, were for the first offence to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods to him; for the second, to die as felons. The marriages of the priests were declared void; and the priest, who still retained the woman he had married, was to be judged at once a felon; while he, with whom a concubine resided, was not to be so accounted before a second conviction, his punishment for the first being the forfeiture of his benefice and goods, and imprisonment during the royal pleasure. Nor were the women exempted in either case from the same penalties. Lastly, they who contemned or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, were liable to the punishments pronounced against the priest and his concubine.

Cranmer has lately been placed, in a history of our country, among those who were "[1] filled with terror," after the statute had passed; and as having in consequence not only dispatched in haste his wife and children to Germany, but as "[2] *having written to the king an apology*" as I have [3]already stated. The production of such an apology would at once silence lord Herbert, who says, "[4] that though it appears not what arguments Cranmer used in his opposition, yet he found that the king sent to him for a copy of them, not misliking his freedom, as knowing all that he spake was out of a sincere intention." The king would therefore not expect an apology. But if an apology was really sent, after the archbishop's resolute conduct, and after his arguments and authorities for them were [5] transcribed in obedience to the royal command, a sight of it should certainly have been offered, that at least its genuineness might be examined.

The king was now flattered by his parliament for the zeal and learning he had exhibited in this miserable labour of legislation. By the German reformers his name was execrated for it. Melancthon, in an address to him with a courtesy that could not but arrest his attention, yet with an intrepidity that perhaps might wring his heart,

[1] Lingard, Hist. Eng. vi. 384.
[2] Ibid. 386.
[3] See before, p. 278.
[4] Hen. VIII. ed. 1649. 448.
[5] Foxe. Burnet.

at once [1] told him that the proceeding was monstrous; that if the Romish prelates had advised it, it was his sanction that confirmed it, and that therefore all the German Protestants were grieved to behold him the instrument of others' cruelty. Latimer, Shaxton, Cranmer, and others he believed to be in prison upon the occasion; he wished them all the fortitude of Christians; he admitted that nothing more honourable could befall them than to suffer for the truth they maintained against the recent statute; but he deprecated the shedding of their blood by a sovereign of whom better hopes had been formed, and whose example it was expected would have occasioned other princes to abandon their persecutions. He warned the monarch too against the prelates now complying with his will, and assured him they were indissolubly bound to the see of Rome. He told him, that, while he pretended to reprobate, he was strengthening, the tyranny of that see. In short, he analysed all the points of the statute, pronounced them impious and idolatrous, and implored him to withdraw the sanction he had given them. Luther and others joined in this indignant censure. "[2] I

[1] See the whole Latin letter, dated Nov. 1, 1539, copied in Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iv. Rec. p. 196, seq. Foxe has printed a translation of the whole letter, which was also a separate publication.

[2] Seckendorf. Scott's Hist. of the Church of Christ, 1826. i. 186.

am glad," said Luther in a letter to the elector of Saxony, "that Henry has thrown off the mask. He had demanded to become head and defender of the Gospel in Germany: Away with such a head! His power and wealth have so inflated him, that he would be adored as a god. He is fit for a pope himself; so crafty is he, and designing."

However, the statute being passed, they who had effected the measure, now sought to continue all the outward glitter of religion which the Reformers had laboured to remove. A book of ceremonies to be used by the Church was proposed. It [1] contained many an expedient to protract the iron reign of superstition. It had been planned by Gardiner, Tunstal, and Stokesley. To adhere "to the old usages and traditions of the Church"—"to abandon no ceremony"—"not to fear thus to help things forward"—[2] these had been measures recommended by those prelates to Sampson, bishop of Chichester, who, in 1539, was a prisoner in the Tower, and who by confessing these and other matters obtained his release. By Cranmer, however, the book was [3] opposed; the

[1] Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. Rec. No. cxi. which is a copy of the whole book. Strype both in his Life of Cranmer, and in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, expressly assigns this endeavour to the year 1539. Mr. Soames follows him. Others place it in 1540, and imagine a Latin ritual to have been the book. But the ceremonies proposed are all in English.

[2] Letter from Sampson to Cromwell, Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. Rec. No. xciii.

[3] Burnet. Strype.

convocation also refused to sanction it; and the king was not inclined to enforce it.

Jane Seymour had now been dead two years, and Henry was pondering upon the choice of another wife. Cromwell, to strengthen the reformed party, recommended to him a princess, whose relations, like himself, were opposed to the see of Rome. His recommendation was accepted. The intended bride whom flattery had painted as another Boleyn, and whom fancy perhaps expected to find a second Seymour, was the lady Anne of Cleves. The reigning duke, her brother, readily consented to the union. The elector of Saxony, who had married another sister of the duke, though still indignant at the conduct of Henry in the Six Articles, at length assented to it. Accompanied by a splendid retinue, the lady therefore departed for England, and was landed at Dover on the 29th of December, in 1539. On her way thence to London she was met by the archbishop and a train of gentlemen, by whom she was conducted into Canterbury, where she probably remained, as the following letter of Cranmer to Cromwell implies, the next day.

"[1] My very singular good lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received by my

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter-House, Westminster.

servant Eaton fifty sovereigns from you, which shall be delivered to-morrow and presented unto my lady Anne's Grace, according to your lordship's advertisement in your letters. And if I may compass and bring it to pass, the town of Canterbury shall put thereunto fifty angels, to be all together presented in one cup. And whereas this bearer, Mr. Fineux, your servant, by his [1] demore here in giving attendance upon me whilst my said lady Anne's Grace was received at Canterbury, hath longer absented himself from you than he thought to have done, I trust your lordship will accept the same in the best part; assuring you, my lord, that in case he and [2] other gentlemen of the country, with my own retinue, had not the better assisted me over and besides the number appointed, I should have received her Grace but with a slender company. For the whole number appointed to me, besides my own company, was not twenty-six; and yet some of them failed. So that if partly by my own company, and partly by other gentlemen's assistance,

[1] Delay.

[2] Among the *Remembrances* of Cromwell, Cott. MSS. Titus, B. 1. are the following. Ellis, 2nd series, ii. 121.

"For money to be sent to Calais for defraying the lady Anne's train.

"For money for the defraying of the lady Anne's charge with her train after the arrival in England till she came to Greenwich."

it had not been supplied, I should not have had a convenient number. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Canterbury, the xxixth. day of December.

"Your own ever assured,

"T. CANTUARIEN."

On the first of January the lady arrived at Rochester, where the king was impatiently waiting in [1] disguise to admire the beauty that had been promised to him, like Calidore beholding the Graces,

——— "[2] yet of them unespied."

But he did not, like the Elfin warrior, "[3] see what pleased much his sight." The person, as well as the manners, of the lady, excited in him immediate aversion instead of admiration. He was astonished that his agents as "[4] wise men," and that Holbein as an excellent limner, should have described her as attractive. Even the "[5] goodly

[1] Burnet. Strype. Hume.

[2] Spenser, Faery Queen, vi. x. 11.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Sir Anthony Browne's deposition, Strype, Ecc. Mem. i, Rec. 311.

[5] "What a sight was this, to see so goodly a prince and so noble a king to ride with so fair a lady of *so goodly a stature*, &c." Hall. The chronicler is describing the lady as leaving her coach at Shooter's Hill, and riding thence on horseback to Greenwich.

stature" by which she was distinguished, and which he had before suggested would be desirable, had now no charms for him. Before his courtiers he bestowed a coarse expression upon her; and to them he confessed that he would gladly avoid, if yet it might be so, the nuptial contract. But the contract was verbally fulfilled, and the lady became a nominal wife; of which empty distinction, after six months more had passed, she was deprived by the formality of a divorce. A precontract was the first of the frivolous pretences assigned as a ground of this proceeding. Depositions by [1] Cranmer and other peers were tendered to this purpose. But it was on the sovereign's own reprehensible plea that he had not *inwardly* consented to the marriage, and that he was unable to subdue his antipathy to the lady, that both lords and commons, and afterwards the convocation, principally formed their determination to try the validity of the marriage. Before the convocation agreed to pronounce it void, [2] Gardiner expatiated in favour of Henry's view, and examined witnesses to the purpose. The sentence of invalidity was then confirmed by the [3] seal of Cranmer. I wish I could have said, that the

[1] They are given by Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. Rec. 307. seq.

[1] Burnet. Strype.

[3] The instrument is copied by Burnet; i. Rec. No. xix.

primate had not concurred in this unworthy measure. Burnet admits that Cranmer had not now "[1] courage enough to swim against the stream;" which is imputed to the fear, that his refusal to sanction the plea would have caused him to share the fate of Cromwell, whose execution, he knew, would immediately follow the divorce.

But if Anne of Cleves wanted beauty, she wanted neither discretion nor equanimity. She submitted to the sentence of separation with little remonstrance; consented to remain in England with the new title of sister, instead of wife, to the disappointed sovereign; and [2] informed the duke, her brother, of the good usage that had led her to this determination. An endeavour appears to have been afterwards made by her foreign relations to restore her to the king in her spousal character; at the time, as it should seem, when Catharine Howard, her successor as queen, had been sentenced to the punishment of her incontinency. Cranmer reported it to Henry, in a letter dated January 13, saying "[3] that the ambassador of Cleves came to my house at Lambeth, and delivered to me letters from [4] Oslynger, vice-

[1] Hist. Ref. iii. Appendix ix.

[2] Her letter to the duke is given by Burnet, i. Rec. No. xx.

[3] Orig. MS. State-Paper Office.

[4] So Cranmer writes the name. Lord Herbert calls him Olisleger. Hist. ed. 1649. 453. 455. He was one of the commis-

chancellor to the duke;" of which the substance was, after "setting forth my lauds and commendations like an orator, to commend unto me the cause of the lady Anne.—Although I suspected the true cause of his coming, yet I would take upon me no knowledge of any special matter, but said thus unto him: Master ambassador, I have perused Oslynger's letters, by the which he commendeth unto me the lady Anne of Cleves' cause. But forasmuch as he declareth no certain cause, I trust you have some other instructions to inform me of some particular matter.—Whereunto he answered, that the cause was *the reconciliation of your Majesty unto the lady Anne of Cleves.*—Whereunto I answered, that I thought [it] not a little strange that Oslynger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I as much as any other person knew most in the causes of divorce."—Therefore, the archbishop adds, "I decline to move your Grace to receive her in matrimony, from whom your Majesty was upon most just cause divorced, whereupon might grow most uncertitude of your Grace's succession, with such unquietness and trouble to this realm as heretofore hath not been seen."—

sioners who brought over the lady Anne to England, and who afterwards presented an instrument invalidating the force of the pretended contract of Anne with the son of the duke of Lorrain.

The ambassador would have proceeded further in conversation, if Cranmer would have allowed it. Cranmer concluded with asking if any answer as from his Majesty was to be given to what had been so far communicated. Of this curious interposition nothing further is known. The lady Anne continued in her retirement at Chelsea, till her death in 1557.

CHAPTER XIV.

1540.

The fall of Cromwell—Cranmer's letter in behalf of him—Endeavour to involve Cranmer in his ruin—The king favours Cranmer—Discussions and written opinions in order to the production of the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man—Those of the archbishop in particular.

THE ill-starred marriage, which Cromwell had advised, precipitated his ruin. Other circumstances indeed contributed to it. By the Romish party he was hated as their greatest enemy; by the Reformed he was not regarded as their constant friend; by the people in general he was unbeloved as imposing upon them heavy burthens of taxation. While Anne of Cleves at this time was unable to obtain the proper regard of Henry, Catharine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, was effecting by her charms an easy way to the throne, as well as to the downfall of him who had brought Anne to England. On the 13th of June in 1540 the duke preferred against the minister, who but two months before had been

created earl of Essex, a charge of high treason, and he was committed to the Tower. Heresy also was alleged against him. The concern of Cranmer for his useful associate, and beloved friend, was thus expressed to Henry on the day after the arrest; "[1] boldly," as lord Herbert describes it, "considering the times," rather than "[2] with timidity," as stated by Dr. Lingard. "Though yesterday," said the archbishop to his sovereign, "he heard in his Grace's Council that Cromwell is a traitor: yet who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty? he, that was so advanced by your Majesty; he, whose surety was only by your Majesty; he, who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he, who studied always to set forward whatsoever was his Majesty's[3] will and pleasure; he, that cared for no

[1] Hen. VIII. ed. 1549. 457.

[2] Hist. of Eng. 8vo. vi. 398.

[3] "Cromwell's ministry was in a constant course of flattery and submission; but by that he did great things that amaze every one who has considered them well. The setting up of the king's supremacy instead of the usurpations of the papacy, and the rooting out the monastic state in England, considering the wealth, the numbers, and the zeal of the monks and friars in all parts of the kingdom, as it was a very bold undertaking, so it was executed with great method, and performed in so short a time, and with so few of the convulsions that might have been expected, *that all this shews what a master he was, who could bring such a design to be finished in so few years with so little trouble or danger.*" Burnet.

man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived but he detected the same in the beginning? If the noble princes of memory, king John, Henry the second, and Richard the second, had had such a councillor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traitorously abandoned, and overthrown, as those good princes were. I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love, which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him, or trusted him, and am very glad that his treason is discovered in time. But yet again I am very sorrowful. For whom shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas, I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein; I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually, night and day, to send such a councillor in his place whom your Grace may trust, and who will have as much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all danger as I ever thought he had."

Five days afterwards, whether convinced, or persuaded, that the purity of the great statesman

in certain cases had been questionable, Cranmer on the second and third readings of the bill of attainder against him, offered [1] no dissent. While he was on his way to the Tower, Cromwell had been treated with unfeeling insolence by his enemies. During the short interval, which Henry's hasty passion for Catharine Howard permitted between his commitment and execution, he was further insulted, according to Warton, [2] in a ballad written by a defender of the declining cause of popery, who certainly shewed more zeal, than courage, in reproaching a disgraced minister and a dying man. This satire, however unseemly, gave rise, it is said, to a religious controversy in verse, which is preserved in the archives of the Antiquarian Society. But the memory of the man to whom, no less than to Cranmer, the dispersion of the Scriptures, with the full liberty to read them, is due, cannot but ever be honourably and gratefully remembered by a Protestant country.

It had been in the early part of this year that, by the advice of Cromwell, several bishops and divines were commissioned by the king to examine religious points; the German reformers being still desirous of further conferences with the English, and the Six Articles being almost universally detested. After the apprehension of

[1] Journals of the House of Lords.

[2] Hist. of English Poetry, sect. 44.

Cromwell, however, "the adversaries of the Gospel," says Foxe, "thought all things sure upon their side." Those commissioners, who were of the Romish party, accordingly proposed certain articles of doctrine to be the test of orthodoxy, to which they were well aware the archbishop was wholly averse. The blow, which was thus meditated against the Reformed religion in this country, Cranmer, sole opponent to the adversaries, was however able to turn aside. To the bishops of Rochester and Hereford, who had promised him their support, and who not only withheld it, but were even induced to tempt him to the base desertion themselves had shewn, he thus replied, "You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles in that sort you have devised them to proceed. And now that you perceive his Highness *by sinister information* to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highness's mind. You are both my friends; especially [1] one of you, whom I did put to his Majesty as of trust. Beware what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you hide from his Highness by consenting to a contrary doctrine, and then after, in process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, he

[1] Heath, bishop of Rochester. See before, p. 148, the archbishop's character of him.

shall perceive that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Grace's nature so well that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth."—These prelates persisted, however, in their revolt, while Cranmer at once approached the sovereign, and informed him of what had been done. The king [1] joined with him against the rest of the commissioners, contrary to general expectation; wagers at that time being laid that he would be sent, as Cromwell had been, to the Tower. But what he intended by these articles of 1540 to be the public doctrine of the Church of England, was not as yet acknowledged in any respect. The king, however, made his notes upon the margin of Cranmer's [2] copy of them, which is preserved in the British Museum.

The present proceeding, while it covered with shame and disappointment the enemies of the archbishop, certainly gave rise to the deliberations which ended in the production of the *Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man.* The opinions of the German theologians had been sent to this country for discussion in the preceding year; and the *Institution of a Christian Man,* the formulary of two years earlier, was now proposed to be reviewed.

[1] Foxe. Strype.

[2] MSS. Cleop. E. 5. Strype.

To the present commissioners certain queries were accordingly submitted, to which were required at their leisure written answers. Some brief observations respecting Justification, Faith, and Good Works, had been made by them in the present year, distinct from the principal business of opinions now to be collected in writing. Those of the archbishop upon each of the queries it is important here to copy.

To the first question, [1] *What a sacrament is by the Scripture?* he answers, that the Scripture sheweth not what a sacrament is; nevertheless, where in the Latin text we have *sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *mysterium*; and so by the Scripture *sacramentum* may be called *mysterium*, id est, *res arcana sive occulta.*

To the second, *What a sacrament is by the ancient authors?* he answers, that the ancient doctors call a sacrament, *sacræ rei signum*, viz. *visibile verbum, symbolum*, atque *pactio qua sumus constricti.*

To the third, *How many sacraments there be by the Scripture?* he answers, that the Scripture sheweth not how many there be; but *incarnatio Christi et matrimonium* be called in the Scripture *mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *sacramenta.* But one *sacramentum* the

[1] These questions and answers are copied from Burnet, i. Rec. No. xxi, in which those of the other commissioners also are given.

Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *mysterium iniquitatis*, or *mysterium meretricis magnæ et bestiæ.*

To the fourth, *How many sacraments there be by the ancient authors?* he answers, that by the ancient authors there be many sacraments more than seven; for all the figures which signify Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called sacraments; as all the figures of the old law, and in the new law; Eucharistia, baptismus, pascha, dies dominicus, lotio pedum, signum crucis, chrisma, matrimonium, ordo, sabbatum, impositio manuum, oleum, consecratio olei, lac, mel, aqua, vinum, sal, ignis, cinis, adopertio aurium, vestis candida, and all the parables of Christ, with the prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such others, be called by the doctors *sacramenta.*

To the fifth, *Whether this word sacrament be and ought to be attributed to the seven only, and whether the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors?* he answers, I know no cause why this word sacrament, should be attributed to the seven only; for the old authors never prescribed any certain number of sacraments, nor in all their books did I read these two words joined together, viz. *septem sacramenta.*

To the sixth, *Whether the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine either of the Scripture, or of the old authors and so be taught?* he

answers, that the determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of the Scripture, nor of old authors.

To the seventh, *What is found in Scripture of the matter, natures, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments, so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?* he answers, I find not in the Scripture the matter, nature, and effect of all these which we call the seven sacraments, but only of certain of them; as of *Baptism,* in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ; of *Eucharistia,* in which we be [1] concorporated unto Christ, and made lively members of his body, nourished and fed to the everlasting life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather death than life. Of *Penance* also I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism returning wholly unto God are accepted again unto God's favour and mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of *Penance,* as we call it a sacrament consisting in three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh *Penance* for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest,

[1] More fully expressed in our present Communion Service, compiled by Cranmer: "Then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us."

nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of *Matrimony* I find very much in Scripture; and, among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory, and increase of the world, thereby sanctifying the act of carnal conjunction between the man and the wife to that use; yea, although one party be an infidel; and, in this, *Matrimony* is also a promise of salvation, if the parents bring up their children in the faith, love, and fear of God. Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, *Confirmation, Orders,* and *Extreme Unction,* I read nothing in Scripture as they be taken for sacraments.

To the eighth question, *Whether Confirmation, cum chrismate, of them that are baptized, be found in Scripture?* he answers, Of Confirmation with chrism, without which it is counted no sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.

To the ninth, *Whether the Apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?* he replies, All Christian princes have committed unto them, immediately of God, the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's Word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance. And, in both these ministrations, they must have sun-

dry ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several offices. The civil ministers under the king's Majesty, in this realm of England, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in authority under him; as for example, the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord great master, lord privy seal, lord admiral, mayors, sheriffs, &c. The ministers of God's Word, under his Majesty, be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration; as for example, the bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Winchester, the parson of Winwick, &c. All the said officers and ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place, by the laws and orders of kings and princes. In the admission of many of these officers are divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion: for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed; and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office. In the Apostles' time, when there were no Christian princes by whose authority ministers of God's Word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the cor-

rection of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitudes among themselves, by an uniform consent, to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most endued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom. And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword, nor governor, amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests as either they themselves knew to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, conversation, and counsel, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented. And so sometimes the Apostles, and others unto whom God had given abundantly His Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's Word: sometimes the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto: and when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the people of their own voluntary will with thanks did accept them; not for the supremity, empire, or dominion, that the Apostles had over them to command as their princes and masters, but as good people ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

To the tenth, *Whether bishops or priests were*

first; and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop, he answers, The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.

To the eleventh, *Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no, and whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest,* he replies, A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election: for, as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it; and the people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests.

To the twelfth, *Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient,* he answers, In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, needeth not consecration by the Scripture; for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

To the thirteenth, *Whether if it fortuned a Christian prince, learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him, it be defended by God's Law that he and they should preach and teach the Word of God there, or no; and also make and constitute priests, or no;* he answers, It is not against God's Law;

but, contrary, they ought indeed so to do: and there be histories which witness, that some Christian princes, and other laymen unconsecrate, have done the same.

To the fourteenth, *Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that if it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the sacrament of baptism and others unministered, that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no;* he answers, It is not forbidden by God's Law.

To the fifteenth, *Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture, "quorum remiseritis," and such-like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if a man may have him, or no;* his reply is, A man is not bound by the authority of this Scripture, "quorum remiseritis," and such-like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, although he may have him.

To the sixteenth, *Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes; and whether they only may excommunicate by God's Law;* he answers, A bishop or priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate; but where the laws of any region give him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes as the laws have authority in; and where the laws of the region forbid them, there they have no autho-

rity at all: and they that be no priests may also excommunicate, if the law allow thereunto.

To the seventeenth, which is the last of these queries, *Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient authors;* he answers, Unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient authors.

At the end of the first of these answers, repeated in the Stillingfleet manuscript, the archbishop has written, "[1] This is mine opinion, and sentence, at this present; which I do not temerariously define, but remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty."

Thus it will be seen that in Cranmer's paper, as Burnet has stated it, there are some singular opinions about the nature of ecclesiastical offices; but they were not established as the doctrines of the Church. They were laid aside as particular conceits of his own. Indeed he soon afterwards changed his opinions. For he subscribed the book that was formed in consequence of these discussions, (the Necessary Erudition, published in 1543,) which is directly contrary to the opinions delivered in his paper; as the Reformed Ordinal in the time of Edward is, of which he was one of the compilers. On [2] mature consideration he aban-

[1] Lambeth Lib. 1108. fol. 69.

[2] Brit. Crit. 1793. Rev. of Mr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 458.

doned those dangerous principles, which subject the validity of the sacraments of Christ's church to the caprice of every tyrant, who may choose to call himself a Christian. He had, before the artful questions of his sovereign were circulated, entertained sentiments very different from his present answers. I have already [1] briefly noticed them. He was then in perfect agreement with the archbishop of York, eleven other prelates, and several canonists and theologians, in declaring, on Henry's abolition of the inferior orders in the Church of Rome, such as sub-deacons, janitors, lectors, and the like, that in the Scripture those orders are not to be found; this being the sole object of their declaration in answer to certain Romanists, who represented the partial as a general suppression of ecclesiastical offices. He had also been the principal compiler of the Institution, his opinions in which, as to the government of the church, and the functions of the hierarchy, the reverse of those in his present answers, are, as I have before said, recovered in the Necessary Erudition. In not proclaiming now the apostolical institution of episcopacy, he had been perhaps led by the [2] king to aim at an

This review is an elaborate and excellent defence of the government of our Established Church against unfounded assertions of the biographer.

[1] See before, pp. 191, 192.

[2] The king seems thus to have expressed himself in the margin of another bishop's answer to the ninth question. The an-

acknowledgment of the sovereign's right to exercise every office in the church. But in these answers he met with little support. In the ninth only [1] one commissioner agreed with him. In the tenth four indeed of the commissioners thought with him, that the offices of bishops and priests were at first one and the same. But thrice the number, while some of them differed merely as to the priority of the two offices, agreed that at no time they were one and the same. And yet it has been confidently affirmed, in defiance of this de-

swer is, Making of bishops hath two parts, appointment and ordering: appointment, which the Apostles by necessity made by common election, and sometimes by their own several assignment, could not then be done by Christian princes, because at that time they were not; and now at these days appertaineth to Christian princes and rulers. But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, the Apostles did follow the rule taught by the Holy Ghost, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione et jejunio.* The king's note is, "Where is this distinction? Now since you confess that the Apostles did occupate the one part, which you now confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to you bishops?" Burnet, iii. Rec. No. 70. Strype, Life of Cranm. Append. No. xxviii. Henry wished to absorb in himself all authority, sacred as well as civil. See Brit. Crit. ut supr.

[1] The bishop of St. David's, Barlow. The other commissioners, besides Cranmer, were Lee, archbishop of York, Bonner, bishop of London, Aldrich, of Carlisle, Skyp, of Hereford, Heath, of Rochester, Thirlby, bishop elect of Westminster, and the doctors Cox, Robinson, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Symmons, Tresham, Leighton, Curwen, and Crawford. Gardiner was not one of them. Burnet. Strype.

cision, in defiance also of the distinction between bishops and priests in the Ordinal of Edward, confirmed by the authority of Parliament as well as of the Church that "[1] Cranmer and most of the original founders of the Anglican church, so far from maintaining the divine and indispensable right of episcopal government, held bishops and priests to be the same order." The archbishop again, in his eleventh answer, finds only a single adherent to his opinion: The rest of the commissioners declare, that a bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a priest; and that any other ever made a priest since Christ's time, they read not. The twelfth answer has one commissioner in entire agreement with Cranmer; a second half-assenting, that by Scripture there is no consecration required, but only appointment to the office *cum impositione manuum;* and a third, after admitting that the Scripture speaks of this laying on of hands, saying that of other manner of consecration he finds no mention in the New Testament expressly, but that old authors make mention also of inunctions. The rest agree that ordination or consecration is necessary.

[1] Hallam, Constit. Hist. of England, 2nd ed. i. 541.

CHAPTER XV.

1540 to 1541.

The Act against divorces—Speech of Cranmer in behalf of poor children at the grammar-school in Canterbury—Catharine Howard the king's fifth wife—Her incontinency—Discovery of it to the king—Cranmer sent to talk with her in the Tower—Delusive promise of mercy to her by Henry—Cranmer's letter to this purpose—Another negociation with the Protestant princes after her death.

Before the year 1540 closed, an important law was [1] enacted by parliament, in order to stop an evil that had long prevailed; namely, the frequency of divorces. Upon the mere pretence of dislike, the frivolous plea of Milton in after-times; and upon that of precontract or affinity, now forbidden by the papal law; marriages had been accustomed to be annulled. The best interests of society required interposition. To Cranmer these divorces were odious; and by him the inconveniences and the scandal of them were reported to the king. The king took especial care to [2] revise the bill that was to pass into a law,

[1] Strype. [2] Ibid.

two copies of which, corrected by the royal pen, Strype had seen. Upon this subject the archbishop had written to his friend Osiander at Nuremberg, probably at this time. To him Cranmer complained of the frequency of divorces also in Germany, and of the miserable consequences attending them. Nor did he omit to reprehend the [1] polygamy and concubinage, which also disgraced a country for whose happiness and character he was alike concerned.

To the year 1540 the alteration of the cathedral church of Canterbury from its conventual state is assigned by Strype and others. But the charter of foundation for a dean, prebendaries, and other members, is dated in the [2] early part of the following year. The grammar-school, an appendage to the new foundation, immediately engaged the attention of Cranmer in a manner, which in the present day will be regarded with fresh honour to his memory, as in his own it was received with gratitude. The sons of gentlemen only were proposed to be admitted into the school.

[1] The whole letter (Latin) is given by Strype, Append. No. xxix. Cranmer seems to allude also to the case of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, who married a second wife, while the first was living; and to the circumstance of Melancthon having been present at the unlawful ceremony.

[2] The letters of incorporation are dated April 8, 1541. MSS. Chapter-House at Canterbury. See also Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, 144.

No, said the archbishop, "[1] I think it not just so to order the matter; for poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God; as eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated."—It was by others replied, "that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his father's vocation: and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth; for we have as much need of ploughmen, as of any other state; and all sorts of men may not go to school."—"I grant," the archbishop answered, "much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth. But yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son, and the poor man's son, from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well as upon others, is as much as to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow His great gifts of grace upon any person, nor any where else, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to His most godly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts both of learning, and

[1] Strype.

other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth He many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those special gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof, as those that took upon them to build the tower of Babel. For God would so provide, that the offspring of our best-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts; as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, and without all manner of capacity. And, to say the truth, I take it that none of us all here, being gentlemen born, as I think, but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage. And through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate."—Another reply interrupted him, "that the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms and martial acts."—"As though," the archbishop retorted, "the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically; who rather that way is brought unto authority, than else his manly looks. To conclude, the poor man's son, by painstaking, will for the most part be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to learn it; and we

are taught by the Scriptures, that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill and setteth him in high [1] authority; and whensoever it pleaseth Him, of His Divine Providence, he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room."

From this discharge of his high office, so serviceable to the public, Cranmer was soon afterwards, to his great sorrow and amazement, compelled to the discharge of a duty to his sovereign. Catharine Howard was now Henry's fifth wife. To Cranmer, while the king was absent with her on a tour in the autumn of 1541, was communicated an account of her gross misconduct, which it has lately been pretended, was "[2] a plot woven by the industry of the reformers, who were her enemies," while it has been also feared, that she "[3] was a sacrifice to the manes of Anne Boleyn." These are miserable surmises to which are opposed undeniable facts. Cranmer imparted what

[1] Is there not an allusion here, and in what follows, to the history of Cromwell?

[2] Lingard, Hist. Eng. 8vo. vi. 407. A more audacious assertion perhaps was never made in any history of our country. This historian, (Dr. Lingard,) strangely proceeds, however, "to admit her ante-nuptial guilt, which indeed she is well known to have confessed, and *does not give the slightest proof of any plot.*" Hallam, Constit. Hist. Eng. 8vo. i. 46.

[3] Lingard, ut supr. 410.

had been told to him to the chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and they agreed that it must be disclosed to the sovereign. Henry, severely shocked by the information, at first refused to believe it. But the examinations of the lady herself, the trials of her paramours, and their confessions, soon confirmed all the accusations against her chastity. These are circumstantially detailed by lord Herbert, Burnet, and others. Culpeper and Derham, the partners of her guilt, paid the forfeit of their lives before the year expired. To Catharine herself a respite of mercy continued till the middle of February; and from the following letter of Cranmer to Henry in November, unknown to all our historians, it should seem that a remission of punishment by death had been actually promised to her. Perhaps such a promise had been made under the expectation of drawing from her further confessions. However, the lady was deceived. No commutation of punishment was offered; and the sovereign cruelly violated the promise he had caused to be made. Cranmer visited her in the Tower. "[1] I found her," he tells Henry, "in such lamentation and heaviness as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her. And in that vehement

[1] Orig. MS. State-Paper Office. The letter is dated, November.

rage she continued, as they informed me which be about her, from my departure from her till my return again, and then I found her as it were in a frenzy."—He was to deliver the royal message to her, which he resolved to do in the following manner: "First, to exaggerate the greatness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your Grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. But when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your Grace's benignity and mercy. For else the recital of your Grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might peradventure have driven her into some dangerous extacy, or else into a very frenzy, so that the words of comfort coming last might peradventure have come too late. And after I had declared your Grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your Majesty, who had shewed unto her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped of. And then for a time she began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept."—The violence of her grief, however, soon returns: "then," says the tender-hearted Cranmer, "as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or at the least to mitigate, the cause. I

told her there was some new fantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me. And after a certain time, when she had recovered herself that she might speak, she cried and said,

'Alas, my lord that I am alive. The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness. For when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow: but this sudden mercy, and more than I could have looked for, showed unto me so unworthy at this time, maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before. And the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so misorder myself against his Majesty.'—

"And for any thing that I could say unto her, she continued in a great pang a long while. But after that she began something to remit her rage, and come to herself.—At night about vj of the clock she fell into another like pang, but not so outrageous as the first was."—The archbishop then says that he encloses, what however is not enclosed in this letter in the State-Paper Office, "all that I can get of her concerning any communication of [1] matrimony with Derham, which

[1] This agrees with Burnet's statement of a particular view in the archbishop's examining her, which was to draw from her all the discoveries they could make to fasten a pre-contract with Derham on her. Many trifling stories relating to that being

although it is not so much as I thought, yet I suppose surely it was sufficient to prove a contract with carnal knowledge following, although she think it be no contract, as indeed the words above be not, if carnal knowledge had not followed thereof."—Cranmer then lastly mentions that he sends "Master Baynton partly to inform his Majesty of her estate, and partly that after my departure she began to excuse and to temper those things which she had spoken unto me, and set her hand thereto: for she saith, that all that Derham did unto her was of his importune forcement and in a manner violence rather than of her [1] free consent and will."

Upon her disgrace, Burnet says that a new negotiation was proposed with the Protestant princes of Germany. Mount, who had been before sent to them, was again dispatched to excuse, as well as he could, the divorce from Anne of Cleves, and to renew the proposition of a league with them. From the princes Henry received an answer, which prescribed conditions to which he could

suggested, she was examined to them all; but though she confessed a lewd commerce with Derham, she positively denied any thing that could infer a pre-contract. Nor did she confess any thing of that sort done after the king married her; which she still denied very positively, even to the last. Burnet, iii. and Records, No. 72.

[1] So in her examination by Cranmer she alludes to this dissent. Burnet, iii. Rec. ut supr.

not agree. He replied, however, that he would consider them. Nor did he fail to express his regard for the elector of Saxony, but complained that some of his learned men had both abused and misrepresented him. He was evidently wounded by the just remarks of the Lutheran reformers upon his conduct in the Six Articles. To the elector Cranmer also now wrote in commendation of the king's learning, and of his late proceedings in the abolition of the papal supremacy, of the monastic state, and of the idolatrous worship of images; with the assurance also, that, if in some things his sovereign differed from them, he would not be inattentive to their common interests

CHAPTER XVI.

1541—1543.

The king's Letter to Cranmer concerning shrines, images, and other superstitions—The archbishop's visitation of All Souls College, Oxford—The Bible of 1541*—The endeavour of Gardiner to suppress the allowance of the English Scriptures—How far successful—Other books suppressed—Character of Chaucer—The Moralities—Proceedings in the convocation—Cranmer's acquaintance with the earl of Cassilis—The effect of it on the reformation of Scotland—Preparations for the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man—The book itself.*

While the king was on his northern journey with Catharine Howard, the zeal of Cranmer in the work of reformation was not forgotten by him. The orders which had been issued against the veneration of relics and images, and other superstitions, were still by the Romish party occasioned to be slighted; and therefore from the sovereign the archbishop obtained the following direction.

[1] "Most reverend Father in God, right trusty,

[1] Strype, from Cranmer's Register.

and right entirely well-beloved, We greet you well: Letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which We had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended Him and His Word; We did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but also by our Injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar; It is lately come to our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of our realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisies and superstition; and also that our Injunctions be not kept, as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, We have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinently upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in your cathedral church for those things; and if

any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimage, do there continue, to cause it to be taken away, so as there remain no memory of it; but also that you shall take order with all the curates and others, having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable; and to see that our Injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth, without failing, as We trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary. Given [under] our signet, at our town of Hull, the iiii. day of October, [1541.]"

To the clergy of his diocese this direction was accordingly communicated by Cranmer before the close of October. Strype is of opinion that to all the bishops the royal letter had been sent, which was regarded however only "as the bishops themselves stood affected."

The concern of Cranmer for the discipline of a society, of which by the will of the founder the archbishop of Canterbury is the visitor, had given occasion not long before the preceding exertion had been made against Romish doctrine, for an inquiry by his commissioners, which produced, in the quaint but sonorous language of the time, an account of "[1] *compotations, ingurgitations,* and enormous and excessive *commessations,*" at All-Souls College in Oxford. The members of it were

[1] Strype, from Cranmer's Register.

not in unity among themselves. Their morals were impeached in various respects. Their disregard of solemn disputations, and their attachment to extravagant dress, were also among the charges alleged against them. Cranmer examined their statutes, enforced them with additional injunctions, and concluded the proceeding with his usual lenity and prudence. But ere long a [1] similar process was required, perhaps in order to a more decisive explanation of some of the directions which had been given, by which all the differences might be composed, all the offences be removed, and the character of the society be redeemed.

The Bible of Cranmer, having been "[2] overseen and perused at the king's command by Tunstal, bishop of Durham, and Heath, bishop of Rochester," was now reprinted in 1541. To Gardiner, however, it was no gratification that at least one eminent prelate of his own party had paid this attention, and affixed his name, to an impression of the sacred volume. Averse at [3] all times to allowing men the free use, he was now meditating the prohibition, of the Scriptures. Through his means complaints were brought against the present translation as imperfect. The

[1] Strype. [2] Lewis.

[3] Foxe. So Michael Wood in his "Admonition" to this prelate, printed at Rouen in 1553, reminds him, "that in times past he had nothing favoured the Scriptures to be in English, but had ever winced and kicked against them." Sign. A. ii. b.

king was now to be drawn into a partial suppression of the English Bible by a promise from Gardiner of producing an improved version of it. Gardiner [1] pretended that many words were not capable of being translated, and that therefore they ought to stand in our English Bible as they were in the Latin. In the convocation, assembled in the following February, he had interest sufficient to have enforced his proposal, if Cranmer had not interfered, and moved that to the two Universities, instead of the Romish party, the revision, if a revision there must be, should be entrusted. Against this design Gardiner and his adherents protested. But Cranmer had obtained the royal concurrence in it, which so far was of service as to arrest for a little time the policy of Gardiner. Of any proceeding, however, to the point in question by either University, there is no evidence.

The Latin words, of which Gardiner desired the admission into an English text, were [2] numerous, and had been selected from the Latin Vulgate. They gradually contributed to enrich our native tongue. In the translation of the Bible, made in the reign of Edward, they are more abundantly anglicised. "[3] Some of these, how-

[1] Foxe. Strype. Lewis.

[2] About a hundred.

[3] Such as divination, perdition, adoption, manifestation, consolation, contribution, administration, consummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation im-

ever, now interwoven in our common speech," it has been observed, "could not have been understood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible first appeared in English. Bishop Gardiner had therefore much less reason, than we now imagine, for complaining of the too great clearness of the translation, *when, with an insidious view of keeping the people in their ancient ignorance,* he proposed, that instead of always using English phrases, many Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained an inherent significance and a genuine dignity, to which the common tongue afforded no correspondent expressions of sufficient energy."

What had not been obtained by the Romish party in the convocation, in the parliament which met in the following January that party [1] effected. A law was framed, not only that Tindal's English Bible should be abolished and forbidden to be used in any of the king's dominions, but that in other English Bibles the annotations and prefaces should be so obliterated either by the pen or the knife, as not to be capable of being read, and that any who possessed a copy not thus disfigured should forfeit forty shillings. Concerning the use of the holy book there were then also other restrictions, "[2] curious for their quaint

mortality, principality, frustrate, inexcusable, transfigure, concupisence, &c. Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry, Sect. 47.

[1] Strype. Lewis, 148. [2] Warton.

partiality," or rather artful as a contrivance by the opponents of the English Scriptures "[1] to catch or let go whomsoever they pleased." It was forbidden to be read or expounded in the church. The lord chancellor, *captains of the wars*, the king's justices, the recorders of any city, borough, or town, and the speaker of the house of commons, were allowed to cite any part of it in their speeches, [2] *as they had been wont to do.* A nobleman, or gentleman, being a householder, might read it himself, or cause it to be read by any of his family in his house, *orchards*, or *garden.* A merchant might read it to himself alone privately. To no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, was this solitary liberty permitted. And artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, or labourers, who were detected in reading it, either privately or openly, were to be punished with a month's imprisonment. During the remainder of Henry's reign, to the great discomfort of the Reformers, these restrictions and penalties were not only unremoved, but

[1] Lewis.

[2] To understand the meaning of this, we are to observe that it was usual for the lord chancellors, judges, recorders, &c. to take a text for their speeches on public occasions. Collier, ii. 188. But that the *captains of the wars* thus opened a campaign or that the speaker of the house of commons thus regulated a debate, the historian does not pretend. The Scottish Romanists now wished that the Scriptures "had been restrained from all." Sir R. Sadler's State-Papers, i. 265.

in the last year of it were augmented with the threat of corporal punishment.

Henry was now, indeed, disposed to suppress almost all books upon religious subjects. From the law framed to this purpose were exempted, however, although not strictly belonging to that class, the Canterbury Tales and other productions of Chaucer, the works of the moral Gower, the Moralities "for the rebuking and reproaching of vices and the setting forth of virtue," but not the voluminous and drivelling poesies, though [1] many of them were written upon subjects very acceptable to Romanists, of Lydgate the monk of Bury. Anthony Wood writes, as if he was sorry that Lydgate's tale of Cantaber and Cambridge was thus "[2] condemned by the law." Foxe, on the other hand, admires that "the bishops [he means Gardiner and his party] condemning and abolishing all manner of English books, and treatises, *which might bring the people to any light of knowledge*, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still and be occupied; who, no doubt, saw in religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right [3] *Wicklevian*, or else was

[1] See a tedious list of them in Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 66—90.

[2] Annals of the Univ. of Ox. under the year 1542.

[3] Henry Wharton thus closes the elegant character he has drawn of Chaucer: "In rebus denique theologicis apprimè

never any; and that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify, (albeit it be done in mirth and covertly,) and especially the latter end of his third book of the *Testament of Love*, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion; wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full." I have little doubt that the taste, and learning, and discernment of Cranmer contributed to prevent the names of Chaucer and Gower from being degraded, and their labours from being slighted; and that he left the monk of Bury to his fate. The Moralities too were probably continued through the archbishop's interposition. He saw how serviceable they might be, while the popular love of theatrical exhibitions was gratified, in censuring superstitions which himself exposed.

versatus, de quibus acutè atque eruditè sæpiùs disputat. Subtiliorem etenim scholarum disciplinam probè noverat; *castioris* autem *theologiæ* studio nullos ferè non sui temporis theologos antecelluit, *Wiclefi dogmata ut plurimùm secutus, et infucatam ac genuinam pietatem sectatus.* Hinc *graviores ecclesiæ Romanæ superstitiones et errores acerbè sæpiùs vellicat;* corruptam ineptissimis commentis disciplinam ecclesiasticam luget; cleri luxuriam et ignaviam castigat; in Ordines autem Mendicantes projectissimo ubique odio invehitur, quorum hypocrisin, ambitionem, aliaque vitia turpissima, aliquoties datâ operâ, nullibi verò non oblatâ quâvis occasione, acerrimè insectatur." Lambeth MS. No. 956. This sketch of the poet is unjustly given, in the Appendix to Cave's Scriptores Ecclesiastici, 1740, to archbishop Tenison. Cave and Wharton had then quarrelled.

Hence in the reign of Edward, they, with him, unceremoniously treated

" [1] Holy pardons, holy beads,
" Holy saints, holy images,
" With holy, holy blood :
" Holy stocks, holy stones,
" Holy clouts, holy bones,
" Yea, and holy, holy wood.

" Holy days, holy fastings,
" Holy twitching, holy tastings,
" Holy visions and sights,
" Holy wax, holy lead,
" Holy water, holy bread,
" To drive away sprites."

The convocation, which had met in February 1541-2 to consult on the Engish version of the Bible, proceeded in April to the [2] consideration of a book of homilies to be composed ; of laws to be framed against offences ; of correcting the rituals of the church ; of removing from them all mention of legends, superstitious prayers, and the [3] name of the bishop of Rome ; and of directing,

[1] Morality of Lusty Juventus, printed in the first volume of Hawkins's Origin of the English Drama. Cranmer's Homily on Good Works enumerates many similar *holies*.

[2] Strype. Ecc. Mem. i. 375.

[3] In 1541 Whitchurch published a " Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, novitèr impressum, et à plurimis purgatum mendis, in quo *nomen Romano pontifici falsò ascriptum* omittitur, &c." This removal, however, had long before been directed, but it was not generally regarded.

in the service, one chapter of the New Testament, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, to be read without comment or exposition. Upon these points Cranmer appears to have been a speaker. To the following petitions, which the prelates were desired to present to the king, the clergy then agreed. I. For the ecclesiastical laws of this realm, to be made according to the statute in the twenty-fifth year of the king's reign. II. For remedy against the ungodly and unlawful solemnization of marriages at a chapel called Bethlem without Bishopsgate. III. For the union and incorporation of small benefices. IV. For the due payment of tithes, predial and personal.

In 1542 Cranmer accidentally became acquainted with a nobleman, to whom [1] Scotland is said to have been afterwards indebted for helping to establish the reformed opinions. That country had now been at war with England, and her army had received a total defeat at the battle of Solway Moss. Many of her nobility, taken prisoners, were sent to London; and, under an easy restraint, were committed to the care of the most considerable persons in the court of Henry. To the archbishop the earl of Cassilis was sent. At Lambeth he experienced all the attentions due to his rank, not without the successful endeavour

[1] Strype. Sir Ralph Sadler describes him as "well minded to God's Word." State Papers, i. 94.

of the archbishop to convince him of the errors of Romanism, and to satisfy him as to the regulations in religion that had lately been made in England. His countrymen had long been dissatisfied with the reforms of Henry. In vain had the English sovereign sent to them the [1] bishop of St David's with the Institution of a Christian Man; and afterwards by Sir Ralph Sadler, as it should [2] seem, the Necessary Erudition. The books made no impression upon them. But the noble prisoner, who was also a man of learning, won by the gentleness as well as the earnestness of the archbishop, soon began to think more favourably of the English reformation; and in this temper returned to his own country. Cranmer is represented to have often said, that "when it should please God to enlighten that country, he hoped the intimacy, which had subsisted between him and the earl of Cassilis, might not wholly be without effect."

A review of the formulary, The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, in order to the formation of which the seventeen questions had been circulated, was the next interesting employment of the

[1] Spotswood represents the bishop as having been sent to Scotland with books "containing an exposition of the principal heads of Christian religion," under the year 1540. Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, 1655. 70. Strype, as in 1542.

[2] State Papers of Sir R. Sadler, Lett. dat. 17 Aug. 1543, vol. i. 265.

archbishop. To dispute against the countenance which in this compilation was given to the Romanists, while great advances in it towards the Reformation were undoubtedly made, Cranmer at this time thought it not prudent; though afterwards he scrupled not to complain of the [1] hand that had foisted in points which he could not approve, and to the approbation of those points had "[2] seduced" the sovereign. Strype has preserved the individual but brief annotations of the archbishop upon the points of original sin and of obedience to the civil power, and upon the explication of the tenth commandment; and [3] parts of other discourses by Cranmer connected with the subjects discussed in the formulary. But on the 20th of April 1543, a general examination of the book [4] began to be made by the convocation. On that day the exposition of the Lord's Prayer in English was considered; on the 21st that of the first five Commandments; on the 24th and 25th that of the remaining five, with another of the Sacraments; on the 27th that of Faith, of Justification, of Works, and of Prayer for the Dead; and on the 30th that of the article of Free Will. On that day the archbishop delivered these expositions to the prolocutor, by

[1] That of Gardiner.

[2] The expression of Latimer, as well as of Cranmer.

[3] Life of Cranm. Append. No. xxxi.

[4] Wilkins, Concil. iii. 868.

whom they were read in the lower house of convocation, the members of which received them with approbation, and returned them to the prelates with hearty thanks for the great pains they had bestowed upon the compilation. Burnet describes the archbishop as treating expressly, upon this occasion, of the sacraments and of free will. But of such distinct addresses there are no remains. The work was now published by Berthelet, the king's printer. On the 29th of May, three separate forms of it issued from his press, and before the end of 1543 another edition from that of John Mayler.

The preface to the Erudition affects to justify the restraints, which had so recently been laid on the use of the Scriptures. "We," says the king, "by the help of God and His Word, have travailed sore to purge and cleanse our realm from the apparent enormities of superstition, wherein by opening of God's truth *with setting forth and publishing of the Scriptures,* our labours, thanks be to God, have not been void and frustrate.—But considering that God hath ordered some sort of men to teach others, and some to be taught; and that for the one part which should teach others is necessary not only knowledge, but also learning and cunning in the same knowledge, whereby they may be able conveniently to dispense and distribute to their audience the truth of God, according to their cunning, for the edifi-

cation of others; and by true exposition of the Scriptures, according to the apostolical doctrine received and maintained from the beginning;—and the having, reading, and studying of Holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, is not only *convenient* but also *necessary:* but for the other part of the Church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not *so necessary* for all those folks that of duty they ought, and be bound to read it, but as the [1] prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient so to be tolerated or taken from it. Consonant whereunto *the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many,* esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers."

Such was part of the preface to the new code of doctrine, which Gardiner "[2] politicly as well as flatteringly" denominated *The King's Book.* The title pleased not Cranmer, who knew how his

[1] By the 26th and 27th of the questions proposed to Lambert, in 1538, for him to answer, it appears, that it was now made a note of heresy to assert, "that the *heads* or *rulers,* by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother-tongue; and that it is not lawful for the rulers for any cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language." Foxe, Acts, &c. ed. 1563, p. 535. Lewis, 151.

[2] Strype.

adversary had been allowed by the sovereign to intermix, in the compilation, assertions prepared, although eventually they failed, to thwart the views of the Reformers. In the reign of Edward, Gardiner with a sneer referred to the success of his intrigues, in his correspondence with Cranmer: "[1] It was a notable act," said he, "of our late sovereign to reform, and *then moderate*, religion." Hence indeed it was that a form of doctrine, which the committee had drawn up in [2] 1540 with the view of establishing it as the [3] public judgment of the Church of England, was not acknowledged. The Romish party could not be brought to agree to what had been compiled, in [4] great measure, from the Confession of Augsburg, relating to the sacraments and traditions, which we may believe to have been certainly the labour of Cranmer. For these subjects are

[1] Strype, Append. No. xxxv. "It grieveth me much," this artful prelate adds, "to read written from your Grace how the king our late sovereign was *seduced*, &c. in that which I call the king's Majesty's book."

[2] Burnet erroneously gives this date of 1540 to the Erudition itself, Wheatly has adopted the mistake, and Mr. Butler, in his account of Formularies, &c. 1816, has continued it.

[3] Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. 357. This is plain from the expressions used at the beginning of each subject in this intended form, viz. *Docemus, Credimus*, We teach, We believe. A copy of this form of doctrine is now in the State-Paper Office.

[4] See archbishop Laurence's Bampton-Lect. Serm. 1805, Notes, p. 195. 197.

treated in nearly the same words in the Articles of Religion, of which, in the reign of Edward, he was the framer. The same resemblance is found in the Confession and the discourse of Free Will in the formulary now authorized.

Through the several dioceses this formulary was immediately circulated. In that of Canterbury a learned and earnest preacher was disposed to impugn it, if the archbishop had not [1] forbidden him. For though indeed it possessed not all that Cranmer desired, he doubted not that the instruction which it allowed would encourage further inquiry. If the seven sacraments also were now re-admitted, other delusive satisfactions of Romanism were rejected. Above all, the [2] covenant between God and man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was now plainly and sincerely declared.

To the Institution of a Christian Man the Erudition, in the discourses of Faith, Free Will, and Good Works, is supplemental. In the former code these subjects are only incidentally mentioned. The contents of the present were accordingly,—I. The declaration of Faith. II. The articles of our belief called the Creed. III. The seven Sacraments. IV. The ten Commandments. V. The Lord's Prayer. VI. The Ave Maria. VII. An article of Free Will. VIII. An article

[1] Strype. [2] Burnet. Collier.

of Justification. IX. An article of Good Works. X. Of Prayer for souls departed.

I. In the preparation of the beautiful and perspicuous discourse, with which the formulary opens, Cranmer was [1] assisted by Dr. Redmayn, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious divine of that time. The statement of Redmayn was to this effect, "[2] That the word *faith* is used in Scripture in two different senses; the one being a persuasion of the truths of natural and revealed religion impressed upon the mind by the agency of God's Holy Spirit; the other being such a persuasion of these things as produces a submission to the divine will, and the exercise of hope and charity: that this latter was the faith of Abraham, the faith, which, working by love, is so highly commended by St. Paul, and which alone has the promise of justification." The exposition was agreeable to Cranmer, who in his own collections from Scripture, the Fathers, and later writers, upon the subject of justification by faith, affirms, "[3] that although all that be justified must of necessity have charity as well as faith; yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness nor merits of our justification; but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ, who was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again

[1] Burnet.

[2] Foxe. Burnet. Soames, ii. 526.

[3] Burnet.

for our justification." Burnet notices this important affirmation, he says, to convince the world, that Cranmer was not at all concerned in those niceties, which have been so much inquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of faith in justification; all that he then considered being, that the glory of it might be ascribed to the death and intercession of Jesus Christ.

II. The explanation of the Creed, which follows, Burnet acknowledges, very justly, to be one of the best practical treatises he had ever read, and that from the perusal of it he had never risen without increased delight.

III. The Erudition pronounces Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, as sacraments, no less necessary, than they are declared to be in the Institution; but, unlike the Institution, insists not so much upon their preference to the other four sacraments of the Romish Church.

IV. The exposition of the Ten Commandments, under the second, forbids divine honour to images, and declares that the money bestowed upon the ornaments of them might be better bestowed upon the poor. Under the fourth, while it affirms that we are bound to cease from labour on the Sabbath in order to serve God, it admits that in cases of necessity, such as the preservation of corn or cattle, we ought not superstitiously to think it a sin to work on that day. Under the fifth the Institution had mentioned the spiritual parents.

before the civil: the Erudition now ranges the civil first, that is, next after the natural.

V. In the preface to the Lord's Prayer it is allowed to be requisite, that the people should pray in their own language.

VI. The Ave Maria, or Salutation of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin, is the same in the Erudition as in the Institution.

VII. The Article of Free Will affirms that precepts and exhortations are to no purpose, if free will were not in man. This is defined, "a power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature, without constraint, in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but chooseth good by the assistance of God's grace, and evil of itself." Therefore it is argued, all men ought to beg the grace of God with earnest devotion and a stedfast faith, which He will grant to all that so ask it, because He is naturally good, and willeth all men to be saved. For men are to themselves the authors of sin and condemnation by abusing the grace and benefits of God. Preachers therefore are also cautioned so to moderate themselves, in this important doctrine, "that neither they so preach the grace of God, as thereby so take away free will; nor, on the other hand, so extol free will as to do injury to the grace of God."

VIII. Justification is defined the making us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled

to Him, and made heirs of everlasting life. A distinction between a first and final justification both in this article, and in other parts of the Erudition, as in later works in which the hand of Cranmer appears, is perspicuously made. "The first," it is said, "is our first coming into God's house, which is the Church of Christ; at which coming we be received and admitted to be of the flock and family of our Saviour Christ, and be professed and sworn to be the servants of God, and to be soldiers under Christ to fight against our enemies, the devil, the world, and the flesh; of which enemies if it chance us, after our baptism, to be overthrown and cast into mortal sin, then is there no remedy but, for the recovering of our former state of justification which we have lost, to arise by [1] penance, wherein proceeding in sorrow and much lamentation for our sins, with fasting, alms, prayer, and doing all such things, at the least in true purpose and will, as God

[1] Repentance. Among Cranmer's papers, written by himself or his secretary, in the State-Paper Office, Justification is thus defined: "Post lapsum Adæ mortui omnes eramus, nullum medium habentes per quod resurgere possimus, quoad Christus missus à Patre gratis nos sanguine suo redimere voluit, ad hoc ut mandata ejus servemus, et sic sola gratia et gratis justificamur, quia sola gratia datur per quod justificamur. In *hiis tribus* est renatorum justificatio, videlicit, in *agnitione peccatorum per veram pœnitentiam*, in *fiducia misericordiæ per Christum*, in *renovatione mentis et voluntatis ad studium justitiæ per gratiam Spiritûs in baptismo datam.*"

requireth of us, we must have a sure trust and confidence in the mercy of God, that for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake He will yet forgive us our sins, and receive us into His favour again. And so, being thus restored to our justification, we must go forward in our battle aforesaid, in mortifying our concupiscence, and in our daily spiritual renovation, in following the motions of the Spirit of Christ, in doing good works, and abstaining from sin, and all occasions thereof, being armed with faith, hope, and charity, to the intent we may attain our *final justification*, and so be glorified in the day of judgment with the reward of everlasting life.—We refer all unto God's goodness and mercy, by which we both come unto *the beginning of our justification*, and do proceed and go forward in the same, and finally attain *the end thereof*, and be brought to everlasting life.—All fantastical imagination, curious reasoning, and vain trust of predestination, are to be laid apart." —We are also here cautioned to dread our own frailty, and not to imagine ourselves "elected otherwise than by feeling of spiritual motions in the heart, and by the tokens of a good and virtuous life." Therefore the doctrine is, that as on the one hand we are to be justified freely by the grace of God; so, on the other hand, when it is said we are justified by faith, it must be understood of that faith, in which the fear of God, repentance, hope, and charity, are included; all

which must be united in our justification; and though they are all imperfect, yet God through Christ accepts them freely.

IX. Good Works, not merely outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works, works flowing from a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, are considered meritorious towards the attainment of everlasting life. For "though of ourselves unworthy, imperfect, and insufficient, yet forasmuch as they are done in the faith of Christ, and by the virtue and merits of his passion, their imperfectness is supplied, and they are the very service of God."

X. The Prayer for souls departed is much the same as in the Articles of 1536, and in the Institution.

The tenets of Romanism that exist both in the Erudition and the Institution were in the reign of Edward, [1] under the exercise of an unfettered liberty of judgment afforded by the fortunate circumstances of that reign, discarded, as erroneous; while doctrinal articles, in both the formularies, not differing materially, in nothing perhaps beyond a difference of terms, from the subsequent formularies of our Church that now are authorized, were retained. Hence the innumerable appeals of our most learned divines to these elder

[1] Pref. to the Formularies of Faith in the time of Henry VIII. by the Regius Professor of Divinity, at Oxford, (the late bishop Lloyd,) 1825, p. iv.

compilations, as excellent authorities in behalf of Protestantism, so far as they go; hence the Erudition will repeatedly bear a close comparison with the genuine sentiments of Cranmer in the Articles of religion which he compiled in 1552, in the Homilies, and in our Liturgy. With this code of 1543 we shall therefore meet again in the reign of Edward.

CHAPTER XVII.

1543 to 1545.

Visitation of the archbishop in 1543—*Presentments both by the Reformed and the Romish party—The archbishop requires the members of his cathedral to attend him at Croydon—Their plot against him—Detected by the king—Cranmer's forgiveness of the conspirators—His palace at Canterbury burn, in which his brother-in-law and others perished—Accused in parliament by Sir John Gostwick—Defended by the king—English prayers and litany—Revision of the ecclesiastical laws intended—Abolition of certain superstitions directed—Cranmer's letter in the king's name—Alienations of church property—Conduct of Cranmer in regard to them.*

In September 1543 the archbishop proceeded to another visitation of his diocese, when presentments were made, of which [1] some are curious as exposing the ignorance and prejudices of Romanists, others as marking the progress of the Reformation. From the Six Articles one of his clergy had not scrupled to dissent, in preaching against confession to a priest. Ridley, who had

[1] Strype gives a long list of these presentments.

now been the chaplain of Cranmer about three years, was also charged as having affirmed, that auricular confession was but a mere positive law, and ordained as a godly means for the sinner to come to the priest for counsel, but [1] not to be found in Scripture; as having pronounced some ecclesiastical ceremonies of the time beggarly; and as having caused the *Te Deum* to be sung commonly in English in the church of which he was the vicar. The brother of the archbishop, who was archdeacon of Canterbury, was presented for an offence of three years standing; that of having removed from a church three tapers that were burning before the altar, and of having destroyed an image. Against another member of the cathedral it was alleged, that he taught the use of prayer in our own tongue; that we mock God and of God are mocked, if we pray in an unknown tongue. On the other hand, there were preachers charged not only with as yet declining to proclaim the regal supremacy, but as wholly disregarding the injunctions that had been issued. Images were still retained as objects of veneration in some of the churches. Holy water was yet proclaimed as efficacious against thunder, lightning, and evil spirits. Some of the adherents to the holy nun of Kent and her absurdities were now also among the men of the old learning.

[1] Cranmer agreed with him. See before, p. 306.

One of these was described as thus attacking the reformers. "[1] Beware of these false preachers,' said he, "which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to discern a true preacher from a false? You have a dog, which is your conscience. Whensoever you shall come to any sermon, ask your dog what he saith to it? If he say it be good, then follow it: but if your dog bark against it, and say it is nought, then beware, and follow it not." This ridiculous orator was one of the six preachers in the cathedral of Canterbury: a prebendary too in the same church now affirmed, that images had power to help the sick who made vows to them. Hence the remark of Cranmer to another member of this refractory body, that an image was an [2] idol, as certainly it is, when votive offerings, or precatory addresses, are thus made to to it.

Soon after this visitation Cranmer assembled the prebendaries and preachers of his cathedral before him at Croydon, when he rebuked the ignorant, argued with the pertinacious, and exhorted all. But the greater part of them were

[1] Strype.

[2] "*Imago* and *idolum*," the archbishop said, "was one thing; but the one was the Latin word, the other the Greek." Strype. They who are desirous to read a defence of the alleged identity, may be gratified by the learned Dr. Fulke's Annotations on the Rhemish Testament, i. Joh. v. 21. ed. 1633, and his answer to Gregory Martin's remarks on our English Version of the Scriptures.

his enemies, and returned not without a determination to plot his ruin. They returned indeed with an official declaration from himself, ill-calculated to extinguish the spirit of party; that it had been the king's pleasure to have three of the six preachers of the old learning, and three of the new. The prebendaries were chiefly men of the old learning, to which they knew Cranmer to be the most steady and successful opponent. They were therefore attached to Gardiner, who now aided their combination. By a report, *that the bishop of Winchester had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer*, they were greatly encouraged. After an abundance of meetings, after forming a voluminous collection of hearsays and reports, they [1] charged the archbishop with having deterred from preaching those who were averse to the new learning; with having caused certain images, not abused (as they pretended) to superstitious purposes, to be taken down; and with having maintained a secret correspondence with the German reformers, as well as with supporting in that country, by his bounty, several of their friends. The king soon detected the conspiracy. The list of the accusations he carried with him on an evening excursion, over the water, to Lambeth; and then, meeting with the archbishop, he accosted him, "[2] O my chaplain, now I know who

[1] Foxe. Strype.

[2] Ibid.

is the greatest heretic in Kent." Cranmer, equally surprised that the members of his own church, and magistrates whom he had honoured and obliged, should deal so treacherously with him, required only a commission, by which the truth of what was alleged might be ascertained. The commission was granted. The principal accusers shrunk from their responsibility. To others of them the accused proposed interrogatories, which, while they convicted them of falsehood, ingratitude, and disingenuousness, conducted them to the abode of perjury, a prison. In the houses of some of the prebendaries, and of gentlemen in the country, engaged in the conspiracy, letters were found from Gardiner and others opposed to Cranmer. To some of the conspirators the archbishop shewed these evidences of their guilt; and among them were those who had been accustomed daily to eat at his table, and who by his munificence had been promoted in their profession. By supplicatory letters, by an [1] acknowledgment of their guilt as the effect of subornation, they at length obtained their pardon. Cranmer, then casting up his

[1] Their confessions are given at large by Strype. Among the conspirators was William Gardiner, one of the prebendaries, a tool of bishop Gardiner, part of whose penitential letter Gilpin has printed as though the prelate himself had addressed it to the archbishop, which is not the case. Others have since adopted Gilpin's mistake.

hands to heaven, first acknowledged the goodness of the king in leading to the detection of the plot. He next implored the Almighty to turn the hearts of his slanderers, and entreated them to ask of God the forgiveness of the usage, which at their hands, of all other, he certainly had not deserved. While he lamented the present violations of truth and fidelity, he adverted to the prophecies of Christ that such defections would be found. That they might soon for ever cease, was his prayer; and that they who were guilty of them might be led to a better mind, was the gentle admonition with which he dismissed them.

From the danger that had now threatened him Cranmer had hardly escaped, when his palace at Canterbury was [1] burnt, in which his [2] brother-in-law and other persons perished. Two days after this accident the lords of the Council [3] wrote to him, informing him of his Majesty's pleasure, that as he was thus prevented from entertaining at Canterbury the viceroy of Naples, sent hither by the emperor, he should therefore retire from that city, and leave the entertainment of the envoy to lord Cobham.

In the parliament which commenced in January,

[1] On the 18th of December, 1543. Stow, 988. Strype erroneously describes this misfortune as being in 1544.

[2] His name is not recorded. The archbishop had four sisters married to gentlemen.

[3] Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. 980. fol. 188. b.

and continued till March, in 1544, a new accusation was brought against the archbishop by one not of his diocese, but by the knight of the shire of Bedford, [1] Sir John Gostwick. This county member was a zealous Romanist, and boldly accused the primate of heresy against the sacrament of the altar. On the reports of others his charge was founded. He was personally a stranger to the archbishop's preaching. But he was an instrument in the hands of the enemies of Cranmer. The king, discovering the malicious design, sent a message to the "varlet," as he called him, that if he did not immediately acknowledge his fault to the archbishop, he should be punished as an example to others. "I wonder, said Henry, that you could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching *out of Kent;* and that, *if you had been a Kentish man,* you should not have had a fairer pretence of accusation against him." The knight hastened to Lambeth, submitted himself to the injured primate with contrition, acknowledging how he had been induced to accuse him; and was forgiven.

Conspiracy now slumbered till after the death of the archbishop's friend, the duke of Suffolk, in 1545. We shall then find the primate again an uninjured object of it.

Meantime in 1544 prayers in the English

[1] Foxe. Strype.

tongue were directed to be generally used; a mandate to this purpose from the king in June, of which Cranmer himself is [1] believed to have been the writer, having been addressed through the primate to all the prelates of the realm. It promulgates, that "[2] calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatred, and dissensions, as no place of the same (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good peace, agreement, and concord; the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him, who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe, and faithfully call on Him; unto whom also the examples of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for aid and succour: Being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general processions in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of this our realm, said and sung with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth, forasmuch as heretofore the people partly for lack of good instruction and calling, and partly for that they under-

[1] The whole runs in such a pious strain, as though none but Cranmer had been the suggester of it. Strype.

[2] Burnet, vol. i. Rec. iii. 28.

stood no part of such prayers and suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore; We have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence We have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the glory of God and the true worshipping of his most holy Name within that province committed by us unto you, We have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, *as other our injunctions to our no little marvel have been used;* but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by preaching good exhortations and otherwise to the people in such sort, as they, feeling the goodly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the same. Wherefore We will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all towns, churches, villages, and parishes, of your own diocese, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and commanding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly."—

A Litany, with suffrages and an exhortation to prayer, was accordingly published by the king's printer on the 16th of June, 1544. Another edition, with the notes for singing it, as used in the king's chapel, appeared at the same time. The invocation to the Virgin, to saints, and to angels, for their prayers, as yet was not discontinued. In this compilation also is inserted a petition of deliverance, which was removed in the reign of Elizabeth, *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.* The [1] rest of it is the litany which we still use, but with other collects at the end of it; and the whole is called a prayer of procession. Some devotional exercises entitled psalms, collected from several parts of Scripture, but principally the Psalms, form a part of this useful volume. To these is added a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer; in which there are expressions in the fourth petition that seem, says Burnet, " to come near the true sense of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; for by *daily bread,* as some of the ancients thought, the sacrament of the Eucharist is understood, which in the paraphrase is thus expressed: *the lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us on the cross.* This agrees with our present sense that Christ is present, not

[1] Burnet.

as he is now in heaven, but as he was on the cross; and, that being a thing passed, he can only be present in a type and a memorial."

The mandate had scarcely been issued, when Henry placed himself at the head of a numerous army within the French frontier, and succeeded so far in his enterprise against Francis as to take Boulogne. While the king was thus absent, the archbishop had received from him by the Privy Council other directions upon the use of prayer in the vernacular tongue; and soon after the sovereign's return from his campaign, thus reported to him his obedience.

" [1] It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that according to your Highness's commandment, sent unto me by your Grace's secretary Mr. Paget, I have translated into the English tongue so well as I could, in so short time, certain processions to be used upon festival days, if, after due correction and amendment of the same, your Highness shall think it so convenient. In which translation, forasmuch as many of the processions in Latin were but barren, (as meseemed,) and little fruitful, I was constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator; for in some processions I have altered divers words, in some I have added part,

[1] Orig. MS. State-Paper Office. Collier, with a slight alteration or two, has also copied it.

in some taken part away. Some I have left out whole, either for because the matter appeared to me to be little to purpose, or because the days be not with us festival days. And some processions I have added whole, because I thought I had better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latin; the judgment whereof I refer wholly unto your Majesty. And after your Highness hath corrected it, if your Grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto, (as is to the procession which your Majesty hath already set forth in English,) I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness. But, in mine opinion, the [1] song that shall be made thereunto should not be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the matins and even-song, *Venite*, the hymns *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the psalms and versicles, and the mass *Gloria in excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater Noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As

[1] This passage leads us to suppose, that metrical psalmody might at this time have been thought of by Cranmer, especially by what follows in the letter as to his English verses; and, it may be added, by the imitations of the archbishop's endeavour, which soon followed in the stanzas of Sternhold, Hunnis, and others. So that the psalmody in question may seem to be of higher authority than hitherto has been conceded to it.

concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough. Wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But because mine English verses lack the grace and facility which I would wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose [it] will serve well enough. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in long and prosperous health and felicity. From Beaksbourn, the vijth of October, [1544.]

"Your Grace's most bounden chaplain
and beadsman,
"T. CANTUARIEN."

Other English devotions soon issued from the press; and, as hostilities between France and England were not yet appeased, among the publications were [1] Prayers selected from the Scriptures, at the end of which is an especial orison for the king, and another "*for men to saie entryng into battaile.*"

Before the close of 1544 Cranmer [2] submitted

[1] Printed by the king's printer in 1545.

[2] Burnet. Strype.

to Henry the propriety of compiling a new code of ecclesiastical laws. Against the continuance of the papal canons he [1] contended so successfully, as to obtain an Act of Parliament, that the king should have authority, during his life, to name thirty-two persons, sixteen spiritual, and sixteen temporal, to examine all canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial and synodal; and to draw up such laws ecclesiastical, as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be used in all spiritual courts. This had been meditated [2] ten years before. It had now been nearly brought into action. The commissioners were named, and the king seemed in earnest. Con-

[1] Burnet has printed the collection of passages out of the canon law, made by Cranmer to shew the necessity of reforming it. Among them are the following.

"He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome is ordained to have primacy *over all the world*, is a heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is of the flock of Christ.

"Princes' laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force or strength.

"The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, and cannot err.

"The bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven to men.

"It appertaineth to the bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

"We obtain remission of sin by observing certain feasts, and certain pilgrimages, in the jubilee and other prescribed times, by virtue of the bishop of Rome's pardons."

[2] See before, p. 104.

versing afterwards with the archbishop upon the subject of some popular superstitions, which the latter desired to be suppressed, he demands a sight of the new code, and the names of those who before the passing of the Act had prepared it. He was unwilling perhaps entirely to abandon a measure, which would so much have exalted his supremacy. But his Romish advisers were sufficiently powerful to hinder the progress of this design, which in his reign was no more mentioned. In the reign of Edward we shall find it more signally revived.

It was at Hampton Court that the conference between Henry and Cranmer upon the projected canons, as well as upon various superstitions, had taken place. In order to the abolition of the latter, Cranmer had suggested to Henry the substance of a letter which was to be directed to himself, the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other divines, who had "perused certain books of service," meaning perhaps the [1] ceremonies, and had opposed them. The letter is often cited as if it had been Henry's own, when in truth it was that of his primate, who, in the following address to him, explains his project.

"[2] It may please your Highness to be advertised, that forasmuch as I might not tarry myself

[1] See before, p. 285.

[2] Burnet, ii. Append. Part 2. B. 1. No. 61.

at London, because I had appointed the next day after that I departed from your Majesty, to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all the commissioners of Kent at Sittingbourn; therefore the same night that I returned from Hampton Court to Lambeth, I sent for the bishop of Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all your Majesty's pleasure in such things as your Majesty willed to be done. And first, where your Majesty's pleasure was to have the names of such persons as your Highness, in times past, appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your Grace's realm. The bishop of Worcester promised me, with all speed, to inquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring the names and also the book unto your Majesty; which I trust he hath done before this time. And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Allhallows day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and [1] creeping to the cross, he

[1] The king is made to say by Cranmer, that he had observed that "creeping to the cross was a greater abuse than any other; for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine;* and the ordinal saith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandam nudis pedibus*, and after followeth in the same ordinal, *Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi à populo adŏretur:* which by your own book, called a Necessary Doctrine, is against the second commandment. Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with the other abuses before rehearsed." Burnet. Cranmer at his visitation, in 1543, had received more than one

thought it necessary that a letter of your Majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your Grace unto the two archbishops, and we to send the same to all other prelates in your Grace's realm. And if it be your Majesty's pleasure so to do, *I have for more speed herein* [1] *drawn a minute of a letter*, which your Majesty may alter at your pleasure. Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there should be set forth some doctrine therewith, which would declare the cause of the abolishing, or alteration, to satisfy the conscience of the people. For if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that may be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein; which if your Majesty command the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, with other of your Grace's chaplains, to make, the people shall obey your Majesty's commandment willingly; giving thanks to your Majesty that they know the truth, which else they would obey with murmuration and grudging. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other nations, when they shall see your

complaint against this superstitious practice of *creeping to the cross.*

[1] See Burnet, ut supr. where "The draught of this letter *which the king was to send to Cranmer*, against some superstitious practices," is given entire.

Majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's Word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your Majesty in his preservation and governance. From my Manor of Beaksbourn, the 24th of January [1], [1544-5.]

Postscript.

"I beseech your Majesty that I may be a suitor unto the same for your cathedral church of Canterbury, who to their great unquietness, and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily; and, as it is said, by your Majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not your Majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your Majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, they may have some letter from your Majesty, to declare your Majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn that they shall make no alienation; and that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your Majesty's use. For now every man that lists to have any of their lands, makes suit to get it into your Majesty's hands; not that your Majesty should keep the same, but by sale or gift from

[1] The date of the original is merely 45. Burnet enlarges this to 1545-6. I am inclined to reduce it to 1544-5.

your Majesty to translate it from your Grace's cathedral church unto themselves.

"T. CANTUARIEN."

Cranmer himself has been severely [1] censured for alienating to his sovereign many of the possessions of the see of Canterbury. The censurers are not aware that in various instances what are called alienations, are in reality exchanges. Of such there is a descriptive volume in the Lambeth library, detailing the several manors, advowsons, and other property transferred from the archbishop to the sovereign, and from the sovereign to the archbishop, in the reigns both of Henry and of Edward. The relative value of these exchanges, at that time, cannot now perhaps be fairly ascertained. If Henry was rapacious, Cranmer was certainly artless and undesigning, but at the same time careful. Upon one of these occasions, thanking Cromwell " [2] for his good mind towards him concerning his debts to the king, which of all other things," he says, " lieth most nigh to my stomach; —as concerning *such lands of mine*," he adds, "*as the king's Highness is minded to have by exchange* at Maidstone and Otford, forsomuch as I am the man that hath small experience in such cases, and have no mistrust at all in my prince in that behalf, I wholly commit unto you to do therein

[1] Butler's Book of the Roman Cath. Ch. 200.

[2] Orig. MS. Chapter-House, Westminster.

for me, as by you shall be thought expedient; not doubting but that you foresee as much for my commodity, as you would that I should do for you in such a like matter."—Thus his [1] secretary, some years afterwards, informed archbishop Parker, "that if he had not well behaved himself towards his prince and the world, his successors should not have been cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues, either lands, woods, or other property; and I pray God they may maintain, in this mild and quiet time, *that which he in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his successors.*" This faithful officer then describes the archbishop's manner of granting leases, by which he preserved the revenues of the see; and tells us that he left his rents better than he found them. As to his exchanges with the king, it ought to be considered, says the secretary, that they were "with a prince who would not be bridled, nor gainsaid in any of his requests, *unless men would danger altogether.*" At several of his [2] residences he left thrice as much land as he had received. And therefore his vindicator concludes, "let men leave off that report of him, *that he was not beneficial to his successors.* Other bishops lost whole manors and lordships without any exchange at all. Thus much my conscience has compelled

[1] Ralph Morice, MSS. C.C.C. Camb. Copied by Strype, Life of Cranm. B. iii. ch. 31.

[2] Croydon, Canterbury, Ford, and Chislet. Morice.

me to say in defence of my lord and master's good name; whom I knew to take as much care for his successors in the see, as ever archbishop will, and would have as much advanced the same, if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1545 to 1547.

Another plot against the archbishop — The king again his friend—Change of Cranmer's armorial bearings—His hospitality unjustly questioned—Proofs of it—His influence with the king—Another English Primer published—Proceedings against Anne Askew for denying transubstantiation—The archbishop not implicated in them—Intention of changing the mass into a communion—Condemnation of the duke of Norfolk and his son—The attendance of the archbishop upon the king in his last moments.

THE charge of heresy against Cranmer was in 1545 revived. By a party in the Privy Council he was impeached to the king, as "[1] having with his learned men so infected the whole realm with their doctrines, that three parts of the land were become heretics:"—an admirable concession to the progress of the Reformation. It was pretended that his proceedings might be followed by commotions, similar to those occasioned by the

[1] Ridley, 258. See also Foxe, Burnet, and Strype, from whose narratives the following account of the plot is drawn.

foreign reformers; and therefore it was required that he might be committed to the Tower. The king denied not the request, but commanded that by the Council he should first be heard. Meantime at midnight before the day, on which he was to attend at the Council, the king sent to him at Lambeth desiring him instantly to wait on him. On his arrival, Henry frankly told him what he had done. "Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my lord?"—Cranmer replied, that he was thankful for the information that thus put him upon his guard; and that he was content to the proposed imprisonment, in order to the trial of his doctrine, if he might be fairly heard. Nor did he doubt, he added, that his Majesty would allow him to be otherwise used. "What fond simplicity have you," said then the king, "so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that your enemies may take advantage against you! Do you not know, that, when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; but now, while you are at liberty, dare not once open their lips, nor appear before you? No, not so, my lord; I have better regard to you than to permit your enemies thus to overthrow you; and therefore I will have you come to the Council, to which you will be summoned tomorrow. Then, when they open to you the accusations, ask them, yourself a privy councillor,

that you may have such favour as they themselves would ask, namely, to have your accusers brought before you. If they will not fairly hear you, and are determined to commit you to the Tower, from them appeal to me, and give them this my ring, by which they will understand that from their hands into my own I have taken your cause; the ring, which I now give you being used for no other purpose than to call matters from the determination of the Council to my own."

The next morning brought the order for the archbishop to appear before the Council. He attended; but, before he was admitted into the Council-room, was kept some time waiting at the door among servants. This indignity was instantly communicated by a friend of the archbishop to the king. "Have they served him so?" said Henry: "It is well enough, I shall talk with them by and bye." Being called into the room, the archbishop was informed of the charges brought against him, and of the consequent determination of the Council to make him prisoner. In vain he required the appearance of his accusers. "I am sorry," he then exclaimed, "that you thus compel me to appeal from your authority to the sovereign;" and immediately produced the royal token. The lord Russell, with an oath, then addressed his discomfited brethren, "I told you, my lords, that the king would never suffer Cranmer to be imprisoned, unless it were

for high treason." The affair therefore now came at once before Henry. "I thought," said he to the adversaries of the archbishop, "that I had a discreet Council; I find that I am deceived. Ye have made a slave of the archbishop of Canterbury. Would you like to be so served yourselves? Understand that to him I acknowledge myself, by the faith I owe to God, many ways beholden; that I account him as faithful a man towards his prince, as ever was prelate in the realm; and that therefore they, who love me, ought to regard him." The duke of Norfolk answered, "We meant no manner of hurt to my lord of Canterbury in requiring his committal to the Tower: It was our trust that, after his trial, he might be set at liberty to his greater honour." The king seemed to question their motive. "I pray you," said he, "use not my friends thus: I perceive now well enough how the world goes among you: There remains malice; let it instantly be avoided." The king had no sooner thus spoken than their reconciliation was tendered to the archbishop, and by him accepted. He now verified what was repeatedly said of him, *Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever.* The king then sent them to partake of the archbishop's hospitality at Lambeth palace. But in this [1] whole affair there is cer-

[1] Gilpin.

tainly something singular. It is difficult to say whether Henry, over-persuaded by the Romish party, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution; or whether he took this method to check the forwardness of the archbishop's enemies.

[1] But it was not only in matters of religion that every advantage was taken against the archbishop: the most trifling objections were often made. He was [2] represented to the king by Sir John Seymour, a brother of him who became duke of Somerset, as mean and avaricious, as not employing his revenues to the dignity and hospitality which became his station. "Indeed?" said the king: "I have ever heard the contrary." Before a month had passed, Henry resolved to send this invidious informer to Lambeth, with a message to the archbishop, about dinner-time. The hall was furnished, as usual, "with [3] three principal messes,"

[1] Gilpin.

[2] This narrative is taken from Morice, the archbishop's secretary, as before. There were generally three tables spread in his hall, and served at the same time. 1. The archbishop's table, at which ordinarily sate none but peers of the realm, privy councillors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality. 2. The almoner's table, at which sate the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy beneath diocesan bishops and abbots. 3. The steward's table, at which sate all other gentlemen. Wharton's Observ. on Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix to Strype, folio edit. p. 258.

[3] The Orders and Statutes of his Household are preserved in

besides other proofs of splendid and decorous house-keeping, when Seymour reached the palace. He would have retired, but the archbishop insisted on his taking a place among them. Convinced with his own eyes of the reverse to what he had believed, or pretended, he returned to the king, and on his knees confessed, "[1] I now perceive I did abuse your Highness with an untruth. For besides your Grace, I think that there is no one in the realm that fareth more honourably at his table." "Yes," replied Henry; "but I know your motive: to the spoils of the monasteries you wish to add the revenues of the bishoprics, which, while I live, I will not suffer." Guiltless of avarice, the archbishop was at this time found to have purchased [2] no lands for his family. We have repeatedly seen him, in the preceding pages, [3] almost in distress. When Cecil appeared to listen, in the reign of Edward, to the pretence that Cranmer was immensely rich, the archbishop's own [4] letter to the great statesman will also convince us how unable he had been to raise a fortune, and how compelled he was to management in order to avert want.

the Library at Lambeth-palace; and incontestably prove the great splendour and hospitality he maintained. Lambeth MSS. No. 884. No. 1145.

[1] Morice, ut supr.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See before, pp. 99, 148.

[4] The letter will be found in its place.

The enemies of Cranmer were now convinced, that the king was resolved to protect him from all their machinations; and therefore during the remainder of this reign, they were quiet. At this time too, he certainly possessed sufficient influence to promote [1] many who coincided in his opinions; and numbered on his own side more prelates than at any time before. To the Primer, with Psalms and Lessons out of the Old and New Testament, in 1545, he had also obtained from his sovereign a declaration in the preface, that "prayer is used or made with right and perfect understanding, if we sing with our spirit, and sing with our mind or understanding; and that, in consideration hereof, his Majesty had set out and given to his subjects *a determinate form of praying in their own mother-tongue,* to the intent that such as are ignorant of any strange or foreign speech, may have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding." In vain did some violent Romanists at [2] Oxford evince their rage, in burning this valuable book, and in expressing their desire of circulating "*the old Latin with the old ignorance,* and that the printers should in that language only print the Primer." The book was gladly received, several editions of it being dispersed through the kingdom.

[1] Burnet. Ridley. Life of Ridley, 183.

[2] A. Wood, Annals Univ. Ox. under the year 1546.

But against those who denied transubstantiation persecution was now again cruelly exercised. Among such were Shaxton, the friend of Cranmer, who resigned his bishopric of Salisbury when the Six Articles were enacted, and Anne [1] Askew, the sister of a Lincolnshire knight. The former had remained in prison, as he had boldly asserted his disbelief of the corporal presence, since his resignation. The latter, married to a member of the Church of Rome by whom she was deserted because of her aversion to the tenets of that Church, was a recent prisoner on account of the same denial of credence. In these proceedings there is nothing to implicate Cranmer. To his friend Shaxton were [2] sent the bishops of [3] London and [4] Worcester, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Redmayn, in order to convince him of the heresy imputed to him; and they succeeded. He recanted. The latter disdained to follow his example: "he came to me," said the lady, (the sad historian of her own case,) "and counselled me to recant as he had done: I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born." She suffered

[1] More properly Ayscough; her brother was Sir Francis Ayscough; her husband, a gentleman of the name of Kyme. She was universally admitted to be a lady of the highest accomplishments, and of the most unblemished conduct.

[2] Crowley's Confutation of Shaxton's Articles, &c. 1546, sign. B. v. b.

[3] Bonner. See p. 264. [4] Heath.

at the stake. Among her judges were Bonner and Gardiner, as I have [1] before observed, whom she names; but as to Cranmer neither herself, nor Foxe, nor lord Herbert, nor Burnet, nor Strype, nor Collier, offer a word. Dr. Lingard however asserts, that she was condemned to the flames "*by the* [2] *archbishop* and other prelates." But Cranmer could not be concerned in the proceeding, any more than he was respecting [3] Frith upon the same accusation, who was tried and condemned, as the lady now before us was, by "*the ordinary*," who in both cases was "*the bishop of London.*" Inferior prelates might assist him. But the metropolitan would not descend to the court of a suffragan. Nor was Cranmer guilty of any share in the detestable cruelty of Wriothesley, the chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, who, after her condemnation, endeavoured, but in vain, by the

[1] See page 264.

[2] Hist. of Eng. 8vo. vi. 458. Upon no other authority, than what is contained in the following exclamation, Dr. Milner also says, "that Cranmer was *publicly* reproached with causing Askew's death, by her companion and friend, Joan Bocher, when, subsequently, he was on the point of pronouncing *the same sentence* on the latter woman: It is not long ago, she said, since you condemned Anne Askew for a piece of bread; and now you are ready to condemn me for a piece of flesh." Strictures on Southey's Book of the Church, p. 32. And yet Cranmer, we have seen, pronounced *no sentence* upon Askew!

[3] See before, p. 86.

horrors of the rack, to extort from her [1] confessions that might affect others, and to shake her own firmness. In truth Cranmer seems to have retired altogether from this miserable scene. The doctrine, which the martyred lady disbelieved, himself was upon the eve of [2] abandoning.

Henry had now concluded peace with Francis, whose ambassador, Annebault, arrived in London for the ratification of it in August. It has been said, that both the sovereigns had agreed at this time to change the mass into a communion within half a year, and that Cranmer was desired to prepare the alteration. But before the period fixed had expired, Henry died. Had he survived but a few months, Cranmer [3] believed it would

[1] "They hoped to have drawn out of her confessions of some matters against the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Sussex, the countess of Hertford, the lady Denny, the lady Fitzwilliams, and some of the Council;—and when they found they could not obtain the end they aimed at, they contented themselves for the present with burning the poor lady." Ridley, 177.—"The lady hath been racked since her condemnation, as men say, which is a strange thing in my understanding: the Lord be merciful to us all." Lett. from a Merchant to his brother, July 2, 1546. Ellis, 2d ser. ii. 177.

[2] "What grief must the archbishop and his chaplain (Ridley) conceive at these cruel proceedings, when one of them certainly, and probably by this time both of them, were of the same opinion." Ridley, ut supr. The date of 1546 is indeed assigned to Cranmer's change of belief. See before, pp. 264, 266.

[3] Ridley, 183.

have been beyond the power of Gardiner to have recovered any influence with him. "[1] If I should tell you," said the archbishop to his secretary, "what communication between the king's Highness and the said ambassador was had, (the king leaning upon him and me,) concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor I myself had thought the king's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared."

The reign of Henry was now closing, but not with acts of mercy. Entertaining an opinion that the family of the Howards were too aspiring, or led to believe that they were forming some projects subversive of the changes he had made, he directed bills of attainder to be formed against his old minister, the duke of Norfolk, and against his son, the gallant and accomplished Surrey. The latter perished on the scaffold, while the agonies of death were fast approaching the relentless monarch who had assented to the execution. The former would have shared the same fate, if Henry had not died in the night previous to the day appointed for his suffering. For the condemnation of the duke[2] twenty-seven peers, among whom were some of the first nobility of the country, voted. Cranmer, it appears,

[1] From the relation of Morice, Cranmer's secretary, to Foxe.

[2] Turner, Hen. VIII. 677.

was [1] present in the house of lords, when the bill of attainder passed through it. But of his interference at any stage of its progress there is no evidence. The Privy Council wisely decreed not to stain the entrance of a new reign with blood; and to [2] imprisonment, instead of death, the duke was then adjudged. To the archbishop this was an opportunity for the exercise of that forgiveness in regard to personal opposition, which so often he displayed. The duke had been his enemy.

Cranmer had at this moment, as it were, left the chamber of the deceased king. Lord Herbert seems to place little reliance on insinuations by Romanists, that Henry in his last hours was inclined to a reconciliation with the see of Rome. That he died religiously and penitently, the noble historian admits, while he briefly notices that Cranmer then attended him. An older historian, whose accuracy has rarely been questioned by any party, the learned bishop Godwin, has left us a detail of the interview too interesting to be overpassed, and too circumstantial to be discredited. Burnet, without referring to the authority, briefly follows it. "[3] The physicians, finding apparent symptoms of approaching death, wished

[1] Journals, House of Lords.

[2] "That Norfolk was deemed guilty, or had become dangerous, or was thought to be so, we may infer from his being kept long in prison, under the reign of Edward." Turner, 677.

[3] Annals, ed. 1630. 206.

some of the king's friends to admonish him of his estate; which at last Sir Anthony Denny undertook; who, going directly to the fainting king, told him in few but plain words, *that the hope of human help was vain;* wherefore he besought his Majesty to erect his thoughts to heaven, and, bethinking him of his forepassed life, through Christ to implore God's mercy: an advice not very acceptable to him. But, finding it grounded upon the judgment of the physicians, he submitted himself to the hard law of necessity; and, [1] reflecting upon the course of his life which he much condemned, professed himself confident that through Christ's infinite goodness, all his sins, although they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. Being then demanded, whether he desired to confer with any divines, *With no other* said he, *but the archbishop* CRANMER, *and not with him as yet: I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself will determine accordingly.* After the sleep of an hour or two, finding himself fainting, he commanded that the archbishop, then at Croydon, should be sent for in all haste; who, using all possible speed, came not till the king was speechless. As soon as he came the king took him by the hand; the archbishop exhorting him to place all his hope in God's mercies through

[1] Among his "repentant sighs" there was one, it has been said by other writers, heaved in remembrance of his cruelty to Anne Boleyn.

Christ, and beseeching him that if he could not in words, he would by some sign or other, testify his hope: He then wrung the archbishop's hand as hard as he could, and shortly after [1] expired."

[1] On the 28th of January, 1546-7.

APPENDIX.

Note to Page 240.

A Prologue, or Preface, made by THOMAS CRANMER, *Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Holy Bible.*

CONCERNING two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth much necessary, that something be said in the entry of THIS BOOK, by way of a preface or prologue; whereby hereafter it may be both the better accepted of them which hitherto could not well bear it, and also the better used of them which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are, that be too slow, and need the spur; some other seem too quick, and need more of the bridle. Some lose their game by short-shooting; some, by overshooting. Some walk too much on the left hand; some, too much on the right. In the former sort be all they that refuse to read, or to hear read, the Scripture in the vulgar tongue; much worse they that let also, or discourage, the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort be they which by their inordinate reading, undiscreet speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise by their licentious living, slander and hinder the Word of God most of all other, whereof they would seem to be greatest furtherers. These two sorts, albeit they be most far unlike the one to the other, yet they both deserve in effect like reproach. Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the more offender; him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge, or him that so ungodly, and so ungoodly, doth abuse the same.

And as touching the former, I would marvel much that any man should be so mad as to refuse, in darkness, light; in hunger, food; in cold, fire; for the Word of God is light, "Lucerna pedibus meis Verbum Tuum. *Thy Word is a lantern unto my feet.*" It is food. "Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni Verbo Dei. *Man shall not live by bread only, but by every Word of God.*" It is fire. "Ignem veni

mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat? *I am come to send fire on the earth, and what is my desire, but that it be kindled?*" I would marvel, I say, at this, save that I consider how much custom and usage may do. So that if there were a people, as some write *de Cimmeriis,* which never saw the sun by reason that they be situated far toward the North Pole, and be enclosed and overshadowed with high mountains; it is credible and like enough, that if, by the power and will of God the mountains should sink down and give place, the light of the sun might have entrance to them, at the first some of them would be offended therewith. And the old proverb affirmeth, that after tillage of corn was first found, many delighted more to feed of mast and acorns, wherewith they had been accustomed, than to eat bread made of good corn. Such is the nature of custom, that it causeth us to bear all things well and easily wherewith we have been accustomed, and to be offended with all things thereunto contrary. And therefore I can well think them worthy pardon, which at the coming abroad of Scripture doubted and drew back. But such as will persist still in their wilfulness I must needs judge not only foolish, froward, and obstinate, but also peevish, perverse, and indurate.

And yet if the matter should be tried by custom, we might also too allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm: and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother-tongue; whereof there remain yet divers copies, found lately in old abbies, of such antique manner of writing, and speaking, that few men now have been able to read and understand them. And when this language waned old, and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain, and be daily found.

But now to let pass custom, and to weigh, as wise men ever should, the thing in his own nature; let us here discuss what it availeth Scripture to be had, and read, of the lay and vulgar

people. And to this question I intend here to say nothing, but that which was spoken and written by the noble doctor, and most moral divine, St. John Chrysostome, in his third sermon *de Lazaro;* albeit I will be something shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words and less room than he doth there, because I would not be tedious. He exhorteth there his audience, "that every man should read by himself at home in the mean days and time, between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both more profoundly fix in their minds and memories that which he had said before upon such texts, whereupon he had already preached; and also that they might have their minds the more ready and better prepared to receive and perceive that which he should say, from thenceforth in his sermons, upon such texts as he had not yet declared and preached upon. Therefore, saith he there, my common usage is to give you warning before, what matter I intend after to entreat upon, that you yourselves, in the mean days, may take the book in hand, read, weigh, and perceive, the sum and effect of the matter, and mark what hath been declared, and what remaineth yet to be declared; so that thereby your mind may be the more furnished to hear the rest that shall be said. And that I exhort you, saith he, and ever have, and will exhort you, that you not only here in the church give ear to that which is said by the preacher; but that also, when ye be at home in your houses, ye apply yourselves, from time to time, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Which thing also I never [1] lin to beat into the ears of them that be my familiars, and with whom I have private acquaintance and conversation. Let no man make excuse and say, saith he, I am busied about matters of the commonwealth; I bear this office or that; I am a craftsman, I must apply mine occupation; I have a wife, my children must be fed, my household must be provided for; briefly, I am a man of the world, it is not for me to read the Scriptures: That belongeth to them that have bidden the world farewell, which live in solitariness and contemplation, and have been brought up and continually nursled in learning and religion.

[1] Cease. *Lin* is still a northern word.

"To this answering, What sayest thou man, saith he, is it not for thee to study and to read the Scripture, because thou art encumbered and distract with cares and business? So much the more is it beboveful for thee to have defence of the Scriptures, how much thou art the more distressed in worldly dangers. They, that be free and far from trouble and intermeddling of worldly things, live in safeguard, and tranquillity, and in the calm, and within a sure haven. Thou art in the midst of the sea of worldly wickedness, and therefore thou needest the more of ghostly succour and comfort. They sit far from the strokes of battle, and far out of gun-shot, and therefore they be but seldom wounded. Thou that standeth in the forefront of the host, and nighest to thine enemies, must needs take now and then many strokes, and be grievously wounded, and therefore thou hast most need to have thy remedies and medicines at hand. Thy wife provoketh thee to anger; thy child giveth thee occasion to take sorrow and pensiveness; thine enemies lie in wait for thee; thy friend, as thou takest him, sometimes envieth thee; thy neighbour misreporteth thee, or picketh quarrels against thee; thy mate or partner undermineth thee; thy lord, judge, or justice threateneth thee; poverty is painful unto thee; the loss of thy dear and well-beloved causeth thee to mourn; prosperity exalteth thee; adversity bringeth thee low: Briefly, so divers and so manifold occasions of cares, tribulations, and temptations, beset thee and besiege thee round about. Where canst thou have armour, or fortress, against thine assaults? Where canst thou have salves for thy sores, but of Holy Scripture? Thy flesh must needs be prone and subject to fleshly lusts, which daily walkest and art conversant among women, seest their beauties set forth to the eye, hearest their nice and wanton words, smellest their balm, civet, and musk, with other like provocations and stirrings, except thou hast, in a readiness, wherewith to suppress and avoid them, which cannot elsewhere be had but only out of the Holy Scriptures. Let us read and seek all remedies that we can, and all shall be little enough. How shall we then do, if we suffer and take daily wounds, and when we have done, will sit still and search for no medicines? Dost thou not mark and consider how

the smith, mason, or carpenter, or any other handicraftsman, what need soever he be in, what other shift he make, he will not sell nor lay to pledge the tools of his occupation? For then how should he work his feat, or get his living thereby? Of like mind and affection ought we to be towards Holy Scripture. For as mallets, hammers, saws, chisels, axes, and hatchets, be the tools of their occupation; so be the Books of the Prophets and Apostles, and all Holy Writers, inspired by the Holy Ghost, the instruments of our salvation. Wherefore let us not stick to buy and provide us the Bible, that is to say, the Books of Holy Scripture, and let us think that to be a better jewel in our house than either gold or silver. For like as thieves be loth to assault a house, where they know to be good armour and artillery, so wheresoever these Holy and Ghostly Books be occupied, there neither the devil, nor none of his angels, dare come near. And they that occupy them be in much safeguard, and have a great consolation, and be the readier unto all goodness, the slower unto all evil. And if they have done any thing amiss, anon, even by the sight of the Books, their consciences be admonished, and they wax sorry and ashamed of the fact.

Peradventure they will say unto me, How and if we understand not that we read, which is contained in the Books? What then? Suppose thou understand not the deep and profound mysteries of Scripture, yet can it not be but that much fruit and holiness must come and grow unto thee by the reading. For it cannot be that thou shouldest be ignorant in all things alike. For the Holy Ghost hath so ordered and attempered the Scriptures, that in them as well publicans, fishers, and shepherds may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition. For those Books were not made to vain glory, like as were the writings of the Gentile philosophers, and rhetoricians, to the intent the makers should be had in admiration for their high styles, and obscure manner of writing, whereof nothing can be understood without a master, or an expositor. But the Apostles and Prophets wrote their Books so, that their special intent and purpose might be understood and perceived of every reader; which was nothing but the edification, or amendment of the

life of them that read or hear it. Who is it, that reading, or hearing read in the Gospel, *Blessed are they that be meek, Blessed are they that be merciful, Blessed are they that be of clean heart,* and such other like places, can perceive nothing, except he have a master to teach him what it meaneth? Likewise the signs and miracles, with all other histories of the doings of Christ, or his Apostles, who is there of so simple wit and capacity, but he may be able to perceive and understand them? These be but excuses and clokes for the rain, and coverings of their own idle slothfulness. But still you will say, I cannot understand it. What marvel? How shouldest thou understand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the Books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again. If thou can neither so come by it, counsel with some other that is better learned. Go to thy curate and preacher, shew thyself to be desirous to know and learn. And I doubt not but God, seeing thy diligence and readiness, if no man else teach thee, will Himself vouchsafe with His Holy Spirit to illuminate thee, and to open unto thee that which was locked from thee. Remember the eunuch of Candace queen of Ethiopia; which albeit he was a man of a wild and barbarous country, and one occupied with worldly cares and business, yet riding in his chariot, he was reading the Scripture. Now consider, if this man, passing in his journey, was so diligent as to read the Scripture, what thinkest thou of like was he wont to do sitting at home? Again, he letteth not to read, albeit he did not understand: what did he then, trowest thou, after that, when he had learned and gotten understanding? For that thou mayest well know that he understood not what he read, hearken what Philip said there unto him. *Understandest thou what thou readest?* And he, nothing ashamed to confess his ignorance, answered, *How should I understand, having no body to shew me the way?* Lo! when he lacked one to shew him the way, and to expound to him the Scripture, yet did he read. And therefore God the rather provided for him a guide of the way, that taught him to understand it. God perceived his willing and toward mind, and therefore he sent

him a teacher by and by. Therefore let no man be negligent about his own health and salvation. Though thou have not Philip always when thou wouldest, the Holy Ghost, which then moved and stirred up Philip, will be ready and not fail thee, if thou do thy diligence accordingly. All these things be written for us, for our edification and amendment, which be born towards the latter end of the world. The reading of the Scriptures is a great and strong bulwark or fortress against sin: the ignorance of the same is a greater ruin and destruction of them that will not know it. That is the thing that bringeth in heresy; that is it that causeth all corrupt and perverse living; that is it that bringeth all things out of good order."

Hitherto all that I have said, I have taken and gathered out of the aforesaid sermon of this holy doctor St. John Chrysostome. Now if I should in like manner bring forth what the self-same doctor speaketh in other places, and what other doctors and writers say concerning the same purpose, I might seem to you to write another Bible, rather than to make a preface to the Bible. Wherefore in few words to comprehend the largeness and utility of the Scripture, how it containeth fruitful instruction and erudition for every man, if any thing be necessary to be learned, of the Holy Scripture we may learn it. If falsehood shall be reproved, thereof we may gather wherewithal. If any thing be to be corrected and amended; if there need any exhortation or consolation; of the Scripture we may well learn. In the Scriptures be the fat pastures of the soul; therein is no venomous meat, no unwholesome thing: They be the very dainty and pure feeding. He that is ignorant, shall find there what he should learn. He that is a perverse sinner, shall there find his damnation to make him to tremble for fear. He that laboureth to serve God, shall find there his glory, and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects; subjects obedience, love, and dread, to their princes; husbands how they should behave unto their wives, how to educate their children and servants; and contrary, the wives, children, and servants, may know their duty to their husbands, parents, and masters. Here may all manner of persons, men, women, young,

old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men; virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in THIS BOOK learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all others. Briefly, to the reading of the Scripture none can be enemy, but that either be so sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine; or else that be so ignorant, that they know not Scripture to be the most healthful medicine. Therefore as touching this former part, I will here conclude, and take it for conclusion, sufficiently determined and appointed, that it is convenient and good for the Scriptures to be read of all sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and probations for the same; which shall not need, since that this one place of John Chrysostome is enough, and sufficient to persuade all them that be not frowardly, and perversely, set in their own wilful opinion. Especially now that the king's Highness, being supreme head next under Christ, of this Church of England, hath approved with his royal assent the setting forth hereof. Which only to all true and obedient subjects ought to be a sufficient reason for the allowance of the same, without further delay, reclamation, or resistance, although there were no preface, or other reason, herein expressed.

Therefore, now to come to the second and latter part of my purpose. Here is nothing so good in this world, but it may be abused, and turned from unhurtful and wholesome to hurtful and noisome. What is there above better than the sun, the moon, and the stars? Yet were there that took occasion, by the great beauty and virtue of them, to dishonour God, and to defile themselves with idolatry, giving the honour of the Living God, and Creator of all things, to such things as He had created. What is there here beneath better than fire, water, meats, drinks, metals of gold, silver, iron, and steel? Yet we see daily great harm and much mischief done by every one of these, as well for lack of wisdom and providence of them that

suffer evil, as by the malice of them that work the evil. Thus to them, that be evil of themselves, every thing setteth forward and increaseth their evil; be it of its own nature a thing never so good. Like as contrarily to them that study and endeavour themselves to goodness, every thing prevaileth [with] them, and profiteth unto good; be it of its own nature a thing never so bad. As St. Paul saith, "His, qui diligunt Deum, omnia co-operantur in bonum. *All things do bring good success to such as do love God.*" Even as out of most venomous worms is made treacle, the most sovereign medicine for the preservation of man's health in time of danger. Wherefore I would advise you all, that come to the reading or hearing of THIS BOOK, which is the Word of God, the most precious jewel, and most holy relic that remaineth upon earth, that ye bring with you the fear of God, and that ye do it with all reverence, and use your knowledge thereof not to vain glory of frivolous disputation; but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification both of yourselves and others.

And to the intent that my words may be the more regarded, I will use in this part the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzene, like as in the other I did of St. John Chrysostome. It appeareth, that in his time there were some, as I fear me there be also now at these days a great number, which were idle babblers and talkers of the Scripture out of season, and all good order, and without any increase of virtue, or example of good living. To them he writeth all his first book *de Theologia*. Wherefore I shall briefly gather the whole effect, and recite it here unto you. "There be some," saith he, "whose not only ears and tongues, but also their fists, be whetted, and ready bent all to contention, and unprofitable disputation, whom I would wish, as they be vehement and earnest to reason the matter with tongue, so they were all ready and practive to do good deeds. But forasmuch as they, subverting the order of all godliness, have respect only to this thing, how they may bind and loose subtil questions, so that now every market-place, every alehouse and tavern, every feasthouse, briefly, every company of men, every assembly of women, is filled with such talk; since the matter is so, saith he, and that our faith and holy religion of

Christ beginneth to wax nothing else but as it were a sophistry, or a talking craft, I can no less do, but say something thereunto. It is not fit, saith he, for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity, neither is it to be done at all times, neither in every audience must we discuss every doubt; but we must know when, to whom, and how far, we ought to enter into such matters.

" First.—It is not for every man, but it is for such as be of exact and exquisite judgments, and such as have spent their time before in study and contemplation; and such as before have cleansed themselves as well in soul as body, or at the least endeavoured themselves to be made clean. For it is dangerous, said he, for the unclean to touch that which is most clean: like as the sore eye taketh harm by looking upon the sun.

" Secondly.—Not at all times, but when we be reposed, and at rest from all outward dregs and trouble; and when that our heads be not encumbered with other worldly and wandering imaginations. As if a man should mingle balm and dirt together. For he that shall judge and determine such matters and doubts of Scriptures, must take his time, when he may apply his wits thereunto, that he may thereby the better see and discern what is truth.

" Thirdly.—When and in what audience? There, and among those, that have been studious to learn. And not among such as have pleasure to trifle with such matters, as with other things of pastime; which repute for their chief delicates the disputation of high questions, to shew their wits, learning, and eloquence, in reasoning of high matters.

" Fourthly.—It is to be considered how far to wade in such matters of difficulty. No further, saith he, but as every man's own capacity will serve him; and again no further, than the weakness or intelligence of the other audience may bear. For like as too great noise hurteth the ear, too much meat hurteth the man's body, heavy burthens hurt the bearers of them, too much rain doth more hurt than good to the ground; briefly, in all things, too much is noyous: even so weak wits, and weak consciences, may soon be oppressed with over hard questions. I say not this to dissuade men from the knowledge of

God, and reading or studying of the Scripture. For I say, that it is as necessary for the life of man's soul, as for the body to breathe. And if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend all his life in that, and to do none other thing. I commend the law, which biddeth to meditate and study the Scriptures alway, both night and day; and sermons and preachings to be made, both morning, noon, and eventide; and God to be lauded and blessed in all times, to bedward, from bed, in our journies, and all our other works. I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly; but I allow not that which is done out of season, and out of measure and good order. A man may eat too much of honey, be it never so sweet; and there is time for every thing; and that thing that is good, is not good, if it be ungodly done. Even as a flower in winter is out of season; and as a woman's apparel becometh not a man, neither contrarily, the man's the woman; neither is weeping convenient at a bridal, neither laughing at a burial. Now if we can observe and keep that which is comely and timely in all other things, shall we not then the rather do the same in the Holy Scriptures? Let us not run forth, as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in their mouths, nor sitter on their backs. Let us keep us in our bounds, and neither let us go too far on the one side, lest we return into Egypt, neither too far over the other, lest we be carried away to Babylon. Let us not sing the songs of our Lord in a strange land: that is to say, let us not dispute the Word of God at all adventures, as well where it is not to be reasoned, as where it is; and as well in the ears of them that be not fit therefore, as of them that be. If we can in no wise forbear, but that we must needs dispute, let us forbear thus much at the least, to do it out of time and place convenient. And let us entreat of those things, which be holy, holily; and upon those things that be mystical, mystically; and not to utter the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to hear them: but let us know what is comely, as well in our silence and talking, as in our garment's wearing, in our feeding, in our gesture, in our going, in all our other behaving. This contention and debate about Scripture and doubts thereof, (especially when such, as

do pretend to be the favourers and students thereof, cannot agree within themselves,) doth most hurt to ourselves, and to the furthering of the cause and quarrels that we would not have furthered above all other things. And we in this, saith he, be not unlike to them, that being mad set their own houses on fire, and that slay their own children, or beat their own parents. I marvel much, saith he, to recount whereof cometh all this desire of vain glory, whereof cometh all this tongue-itch, that we have so much delight to talk and clatter? And wherein is our communication? Not in the commendation of virtuous and good deeds, of hospitality, of love between Christian brother and brother, of love between man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of alms towards the poor; not in psalms and godly songs, not in lamenting for our sins, not in the repressing the affections of the body, not in prayers to God. We talk of Scripture, but in the mean time we subdue not our flesh by fasting, watching, and weeping; we make not this life a meditation of death; we do not strive to be lords over our appetites and affections; we go not about to put down our proud and high minds, to abate our fumish and rancorous stomachs, to restrain our lusts and bodily delectations, our undiscreet sorrows, our lascivious mirth, our inordinate looking, our insatiable hearing of vanities, our speaking without measure, our inconvenient thoughts; and, briefly, to reform our life and manners. But all our holiness consists in talking. And we pardon each other from all good living, so that we may stick fast together in argumentation; as though there were no more ways to heaven but this alone, the way of speculation and knowledge (as they take it;) but in very deed it is rather the way of superfluous contention and sophistication."

Hitherto have I recited the mind of Gregory Nazianzene in that book, which I spake of before. The same author saith also in another place, "that the learning of a Christian man ought to begin of the fear of God, to end in matters of high speculation; and not contrarily to begin with speculation, and to end in fear. For speculation, saith he, either high cunning or knowledge, if it be not staid with the bridle of fear to offend God, is dangerous, and enough to tumble a man headlong down

the hill. Therefore, saith he, the fear of God must be the first beginning, and as it were an A B C or an introduction to all them that shall enter into the very true and most fruitful knowledge of Holy Scriptures. Where the fear of God is, there is, saith he, the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh; which flesh is a cloud before the soul's eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of heavenly light. Where the cleansing of the flesh is, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of all our desires, and the very light, whereby the verity of Scriptures is seen and perceived." This is the mind and almost the words of Gregory Nazianzene, doctor of the Greek Church; of whom St. Jerome said, that unto his time the Latin Church had no writer able to be compared and to make an even match with him.

Therefore to conclude this latter part. Every man that cometh to the reading of THIS HOLY BOOK, ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God; and then next, a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so to continue, proceed, and prosper, from time to time; shewing himself to be a sober and fruitful hearer and learner. Which if he do, he shall prove at length well able to teach, though not with his mouth, yet with his living and good example; which is sure the most lively and effectuous form and manner of teaching. He that otherwise intermeddleth with THIS BOOK, let him be assured, that once he shall make acco[illegible] therefore, when he shall have said to him, as it is written in the prophet David, " Peccatori dicit Deus, &c. *Unto the ungodly said God, why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my testament in thy mouth? Whereas thou hatest to be reformed, and hast been partakers with adulterers. Thou hast let thy mouth speak wickedness, and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit. Thou satest and spakest against thy brother, and hast slandered thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest wickedly, that I am even such an one as thyself, but I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done. O consider this ye that forget God, lest I pluck you away, and there be*

none to deliver you. Whosoever offereth me thanks and praise he honoureth me; and to him, that ordereth his conversation right, will I shew the salvation of God."

PRAISE BE TO GOD.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

00110910

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020